

## **Ross Dowson archives -- correspondence -- Year 1948**

General correspondence, incl. Montreal & Windsor ON

- 01\_03 Letter to Morris (SWP, New York), re: high vote rolled up in Toronto Vote; the need for comrade Dunn to visit the Vancouver branch
- 01\_12 Letter to Don (D.) Windsor, re: (a note from Ruth Benson on changes to his unused article), reactions to the Mayoralty campaign; our role in the Reuther anti-red campaign
- 01\_20 Letter to Murray Dowson & J-M Bédard (Montreal), re: crisis in Vancouver over conduct of Lloyd W. and Tom B.; their IWA work and refusal to take counsel from the Branch; branch to take action
- 01\_21 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Don (D.) and Maurice, re: success of the Toronto mayoralty campaign and subsequent meeting; getting the new pamphlets across the border to the SWP; Windsor activities
- 01\_23 +Minutes of Political Committee: World Conference of vital importance to Canadian movement; the party press, Stalinist assault case dismissed by court
- 02\_11 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: if finances support sending a delegate to the FI World Congress; the problem with Lloyd and Tom in Vancouver
- 02\_23 Letter to Farrell Dobbs (SWP, New York), re: severe financial strain precludes Canada sending a delegate to the WC
- 02\_26 Letter to Murray Dowson, (Montreal), re: Stalinists leading the Toronto Rogers strike to disaster; next *Labor Challenge* deadline
- 02\_26B Letter to Don (D. & Hugh Dowson (Windsor), re: Comrades on strike at Rogers; Stalinist misleadership; raising the sliding scale demand in Windsor; contacts in Detroit
- 03\_21 +Political Committee Meeting RWP (Canada) minutes: annual subscription campaign; low renewals except for Toronto; a shorter campaign this year; issue of using courts against Stalinist hooliganism against our comrades in BC; PC regards keeping LC twice monthly a priority
- 04\_01 Letter to Murray (Montreal) re organizational matters; Toronto activities
- 04\_04 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: his writing the May Day Manifesto; the Vancouver celebration

- 04\_16 Letter to Don (D.) & Hugh Dowson (Windsor), re: back to a twice-monthly LC; Hugh takes a local caucus post; are Stalinists retreating from Reuther?
- 04\_27 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: the impossibility of holding a May Day meeting there
- 04\_29 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: proposed article series on the Russian Revolution and how Stalinism arose; the problem of writers for *Labor Challenge*
- 04\_99 Undated Letter found in April 1948, to Mr. C.W. Mercer, Windsor, re: introducing *Labor Challenge* to this reader of the SWP's theoretical journal *Fourth International*
- 05\_01 ***Document published by the Workers Press, RWP, Toronto: "Against Wall Street and The Kremlin; Manifesto of the Second World Congress of the Fourth International to the Exploited Masses of the World;"***  
 Danger of total destruction; Totalitarian nature of Capitalism; The Examples of Germany and China; Perspectives of American Revolution; Role of the U.S.S.R., For a Socialist United States of Europe; Upheavals in the Colonies; Wall Street in Latin America; The Stalinist Traitors; A World Movement...; For Workers' Control; For the Proletarian State; The Trade Union Bureaucracy; Workers' United Front Needed; For the Defense of the October Conquests; Under the Banner of the 4th International (*selection*)
- 06\_02 Letter to the Editor, *Windsor Star*, re: a correction: the SLP is not Trotskyist; the RWP has no candidate and gives critical support to the CCF
- 06\_04 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: the severe personnel problems in putting out a twice-monthly paper; Paddy Stanton dropping away, isolated in Stalinist-right wing CCF milieu; SWP aid in Vancouver May Day celebration; CCF election prospects
- 06\_26 Letter to Don (D.) & Hugh Dowson (Windsor), re: the Windsor comrades stir up the SLP election campaign
- 06\_26B Letter to Morris (SWP, New York), re: a large Canadian delegation shaping up for the SWP convention
- 07\_21x PC Minutes
- 08\_02 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard (Montreal), re: the first issue *La Vérité*
- 08\_16 Letter to the Windsor Branch, RWP, re: greetings to the new branch

- 08\_17 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: Ken (S.) gets a union job; the centre personnel, the monthly paper and the September issue
- 08\_17B Letter to the SWP, New York re: recommendation for a returning US socialist active in Toronto
- 08\_27 Letter to Morris (SWP, New York), re: a *Militant* article translated into Yugoslavian; distribution of the leaflet breaks up a Stalinist banquet; a note on the CCF and our activity in it in BC
- 09\_07 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: a contact expelled, associated with the Yugoslav leaflet; proposal to call for CCF governments; consultations with Marcy in Buffalo on the Vancouver situation over opposition to the IS (FI) document
- 09\_13 Letter to Organizer of the Detroit Branch, SWP, re: in the matter of Detroit comrades approaching a Windsor comrade for donations
- 11\_02 Letter to the Windsor comrades, re: successful meeting in Vancouver probable cause of U.S. authorities preventing RD from entering the country and visiting Windsor on the return trip
- 11\_03 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: the split in the Quebec CP (Dubé, Gagnon); where is the Montreal fund drive quota?
- 11\_07 ***Document: speech notes by R.D. re: “On the anniversary of the October Revolution;”*** the single greatest stride forward mankind has yet taken; our support today despite the ruthless bureaucracy that rules the workers’ state; Stalin’s “socialism in one country”
- 11\_17 Letter to Murray Dowson, re: your letter to Gagnon too late for LC; needs clarification on prospects for an antiwar (coalition); need for an edition of *La Vérité* to publish it, J-M Bédard translating another article on the Russian Revolution as well
- 11\_25 Letter to Morris (SWP, New York), re: too busy with upcoming civic election campaign to visit NY; Vancouver visit to set up BC Branch a success, a reference on the Stalinist break from the IWA
- 12\_20 Letter to Morris (SWP), re: a young leading comrade from Vancouver attending their New York plenum in RD’s place
- 12\_99 Undated letter found in 1948 to Morris (SWP), a donation enclosed for the IS (of the FI); hoping a SWP comrade can reach Toronto or Vancouver to speak; no luck in contacting Canadian Yugoslavs

January 3, 1943 )

(San) (New York)

Dear Morris;

At the same time that you receive this short note you will be receiving an extensive story on the 23,777 votes that we rolled up. So I wont bother to give you any of the details on this inspiring victory.

What I want to take up is the sketchy report that Don gave me of the ~~XXXXXX~~ comments on the possibility of Comrade Dunne going up to ~~Vancouver~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ Vancouver. I think Don told you that we are broke---we are worse than that, we are in debt following this campaign. We would be unable to kick in anything for such a trip. However I am wondering if it would not be possible to arrange a tour now, that you may have been planning for sometime. If Comrade Dunne is in Minn-neapolis and you have something scattered between there and Seattle it might be a practical project.

I have this audacity to suggest how the SWP should spend its very hard gained ~~XXX~~ and scarce funds because of the situation up there. As Don no doubt informed you two comrades there in perhaps the hottest situation in the Canadian labor movement, certainly hottest for us, have out themselves off more or less from the party branch. I know that Comrade Dunne 's advice would be welcomed as no one else, that they will not only listen to his advice on tactics and strategy but will automatically be drawn back into ~~XXX~~ closer contact. One of them Lloyd Whalen is without doubt one of the most capable mass workers that the world Trotskyist movement has ever come across.

I would certinally appreciate it if you would bring this matter to the attention of the Secretariat. Time is of course of considerable importance.

I believe that you would like to have Murray's address in Montreal. It is 5175 St. Hubert, Apartment No 1,

Pardon the typing

Warmest regards

Ross Dowson

57 King St. W., Room 5  
Toronto 1, Ont.  
Jan. 12, 1948

(Dotzner, Windsor)

Benson  
Ruth Wade?

Dear Don:

This is going to be a round-robin letter, to make up for several things we've been too busy to take up before. First, an apology and explanation for not using the Windsor election article, after the trouble you took to fill in the background for us; if we had been able to publish the Jan. issue we would have carried it, but the Mid-Jan. issue was so crowded that we decided to drop the Windsor election story as of lesser interest by that time, than all the other stuff we had listed. And between the two stories from Windsor, the choice obviously had to be the one on the anti-labor law proposals.

I'm enclosing your original draft of that story, so you can look over the changes. I changed the first two paragraphs to give the article a news lead instead of an editorialized approach—this was to make the story livelier, and also to avoid an opening that implied our readers know all about the Taft Hartley bill (which might be true in Windsor, but isn't true throughout the country). The rest of the article has only minor changes, for smoothness. I used my own judgment about breaking up point ~~three~~ into 2 and 3; hope it was correct! You did a good job on the article, and the language was good and punchy. Keep it up!

We decided not to use your own name, because of your isolation—the C. before Donald stands for "Comrade," in case you'd like to know what your present by-line is! We can't afford to have you cut off by using your name in the paper just yet; when we have a base, a little influence, it will be advantageous to build you up as a writer for the party press. But for a while, we can do better with a pen-name, we think.

Now I'll sign off and let Ross take a turn— Warmest regards,

Ruth

Well! as you can imagine we have been very busy for the past month. Today is the first day that we have even had a chance to try to pick up correspondence that has been piling up here all the time that we were working on the elections, putting out the paper etc. But I guess the election returns were well worth it, eh! The election got national publicity for the party. The Vancouver comrades tell us that there were several notes about it in the local press. On Saturday we received a letter from a fellow from Picton. It was addressed to R. Dawson who was candidate for Mayor in the Toronto elections. He heard we were Trotskyists and wants to know more about us as he had followed the doings of the revolutionist Trotsky with admiration. I heard that news of our campaign was in the local Kirkland Lake press also. The task now confronting us is to try to cash in on this publicity, to try to find some of the 15 odd thousand who voted for us and make them into conscious Trotskyists. The LPP must be in a bit of a turmoil. Instruction went out at the last moment to party members to not vote Saunders but to register no vote at all for the mayorality. At last they mentioned us...in the latest issue of the Tribune Smith refers to the Trotskyists. "The unprecedented drive of reaction was character-

ized by...a direct tie-up of reaction fronted by Mayor Saunders, Chambers, Menzies, etc., with the Ukrainian fascists groups around Hladun and with the Trotskyites."

In the same issue is the announcement of the expulsion of the entire top leadership of the French Canadian section of the LPP for maintaining connections with the Trotskyites "among other things. Unfortunately this group is politically still StalinistXX and hopes to get back into the party. They have foully attacked us in a letter that they have sent to all subscribers to the French Cdn LPP press. Murray is in touch with the situation.

I suppose you had quite a discussion with Hugh while he was down there last week-end. He is now winding up his affairs and I understand that he will be there to stay in two weeks time. I showed him your letter just before he left and he voiced the opinion which he no doubt repeated when he saw you that your approach on the purge in the UAW was wrong. I disagree with him and am of the opinion that your attitude as outlined in the letter is substantially correct.

It is difficult to discuss tactics when one only has a very general picture of the situation. I think that we are compelled to protest the Reuther purge not so much on the basis of seniority but that it beheads the entire union, stripping it of its functioning staff and so weakening it in negotiations etc. We would certainly have to fight any red-baiting speeches that will no doubt be made to justify the purge.

However I do not think that you should be in the front rank and leading the ~~INDEPENDENT~~ protest fight. We have no desire to link ourselves up in the minds of the workers with the Stalinists who are being purged. They have a long traitorous record in the UAW. The fight against the bureaucratic purge cannot help but be linked up with individuals (in the case Stalinists) that is why I disagree with Hugh when he says all we can do is fight against the method. But since these individuals have such a stinking record and we are just one or soon two persons who cannot replace their leadership who have difficulty demarking ourselves from them we gain little or nothing by taking a prominent role in the protest. Of course I do not for one moment believe that we are required to at all times demark ourselves from the Stalinists. No doubt Reuther is going to replace the Stalinists with his hacks. I am sure he will not leave the posts vacant. It would be preferable for our working in the UAW to stymie Reuther's complete domination of the Canadian UAW. We would find it easier to work between a Stalinist local leadership and a Reuther international leadership. But there is one very important factor nothing has been said on yet. The Oshawa local has just affiliated to the CCF. No doubt the Reuther staff will try to pull Local 195 and 200 into CCF affiliation. To my mind this is an extremely important development a progressive one which will aid in the political development of the Canadian workers and will open new avenues up for us in the trade union movement.

It is true that many of the CCF are red-baiters etc but the CCF represents independent political action by labor and this is the basic issue. As you know the CCF is putting on a big drive for affiliation in Steel. Union affiliation to the CCF would give it a proletarian base, would permit us as Trotskyists to be in the CCF in contact with the political working class. Affiliation conditions are not democratic and we will have to fight for democratic representation. As you know the Stalinists opposed CCF endorsement at the last CCL convention but I would not be surprised to see them change their line a bit. Get a copy of this coming week's Tribune

Well as you can readily see I have just been thinking out on the typewriter and the thought are rather jumbled. But that is in the main because the situation is none too clear in my mind as yet, and that is why I do not think you should rush in and play any prominent role nor even try to in this situation. Let's look around a bit

Certainly to function well we have to have a rounded orientation and if in any way we had the forces to play a vital role it would be criminal to be for one moment without one however we are only one person yet and our tasks are still quite limited and for a while so limited that we will not be paralysed to be without a real clear orientation on the situation.

Our job is to pick up a couple of militant in the local or on the job with us and to concentrate our energies on them bring them closer to us, to the Detroit forum into our party. We can do this not as well as it is true but nonetheless we can do it without a absolutely clear orientation on lots of questions that will come up. I think on many of these we will have to sit our way for a while, keeping our ears open observing, watching learning preparing

You see the matter of Reuther's orientation towards the CCF in Canada is a very important one. I am not yet so sure that in Canada we should not be in the Reuther caucus. I seem to recall you once reporting that you attended both caucus meetings. I would like to discuss with you your opinion of both caucus...the relationship of forces, their composition, their program etc.

Well I suppose by now you have your seniority. Good, and I hope that in the next period there is a big turnover in your shop so that it will amount to something when the lay-offs hit so you can keep us in industry and not in the unemployed movement. I would take it easy for a while...if you can become a steward fine but let's not get too tangled up in this and that committee. Hugh made that error in Massey's and never had any time to do contact work or party work. On top of it you get so tied up you have no time to think what you doing or get educated. We want to show workers that we are good trade union militants get a little flesh on our bones and then we will be in a real position to start the serious fight on policy.

I am glad that the Toronto comrades election work has upped your prestige in Detroit. It should increase their interest in your work and encourage them to give you some valuable advice from their great wealth of experience.

I am enclosing the pictures that you so kindly loaned the Toronto branch and also some more names of expired subs. We have mailed all of them the last issue including the persons whose names you already possess. There are now a considerable number. I think it would be a good idea if you started now even before Hugh arrives as you cannot do very many in an evening or a Sunday afternoon. Some of them I hope you will be able to get to really meet and discuss our party with. This is no doubt the most important work we have before us right now. We have a colossal job before us here in Toronto.

I hope the correspondence that went out on the financial question prods Maxence to the realization of how important his donations are to us. It seems probable that we will be required to cut one person from the staff. But there will be more on that later. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~. We have received all your very welcome contributions and also the money for the lapel badges. The one that we sent separate is not to be paid for by you as it was a present from me. You only owe us for 10 now.

Well I must try to pick up some of the other correspondence



January 20, 1948

*Dutton* *James B. Dutton*

Dear Murray and Jean;

I am sending this letter to your home as I want to be sure that you read it as soon as possible and let me know your opinions. I am not sending a copy to Jean as you told me he was intending to give up his room and I don't want the letter to be misplaced. Would you arrange a talk with him as soon as possible.

We have just received three letters from Vancouver after a silence of almost two months. I am copying excerpts from them for your information;

From Reg;

"Sober analysis by branch of the situation confronting us compelled a decision to discontinue the office after February 15th. It is impossible to finance and make any reasonable contribution to the national office. Defaults and defections of membership together with unemployment account for this."

information on T. and L.

On Dec 15 one of leading comrades ran into T. in the IWA offices. Comrade informed T. that branch disturbed about Iron River, need for information, asked T. to get in touch with Reg or Branch. T. too busy. On 19th at a union social affair T. and L. there made no effort to talk to Reg. Buttonholed and T. agreed to get together on holiday period. Buttonholed for financial campaign...gave five. No word from either all during Holiday. Reg. phoned L. on a number of occasions, only contacted him once when "busy on all available nights". L. said he would make arrangements first convenient time....no further word.

Reg managed to connect with Lloyd prior to union meeting of the 9th Jan. "SPECIFICALLY asked if the R and F caucus was being convened prior to meeting and was told that the caucus was now so divided there was no point in having it called together." "Party fraction agreed on line of action for this meeting, no consultation from T. and L." Reg then goes on to tell of the union meeting where he managed to sit beside secretary of R and F caucus who had a slate lined up for nomination for local offices, delegated to District Convention and list of proposed District officers to be nominated at Convention. None of our party fraction appeared on these lists but T and L. When one of our comrades stood for nomination as Trustee on branch instructions this fellow exclaimed to Reg; "Why dont you birds keep to your agreement? You've crossed up the whole thing and your splitting the vote."

"From this I judged that there was a new caucus functioning and that the party fraction was excluded from it although two party members were quite apparently connected with it. Subsequent information confirmed this conclusion."

"During the whole course of the convention neither T and L made any effort to ~~EXPLAIN~~ speak to or get in touch with the party fraction (1 delegate, 1 alternate all comrades in attendance) the comrades were purposely evaded.

One of the leading comrades Stan Stanton has asked branch for extended leave of absence, and release from all party activities.

notes from a letter from Vancouver branch secretary Bill Whitney to ANGUS



Whitney gives Angus a lengthy resume of the Iron River incident which now makes me question once again the ~~NEKKER~~ conduct of Tom who was intimately bound up with it. My first doubts were allayed by a statement from the CCL Vancouver Council and a report of Jean's impressions gained from Iadd. However this is so much water under the bridge at this time.

"Now for the question of party relationships with T and L. Lloyd was given leave of absence provided he undertook to participate in the IWA fraction. He has lived up to this (more or less) but in hardly a satisfactory manner. Tom did not go thro this procedure."

"However in conversation with them last night, under the most unfavorable conditions--the meeting was held in the bathroom because of the presence of others.. they have come right out in opposition to the party. Ross particularly. "Not a red cent will they contribute." They are going to conduct a struggle but not in the party it is no use... Ross dominates. They do not mind you disagree with the F.I. but they cannot see any attempt to remove the present National Secretary culminate in successful results. They propose to gather a new group and conduct the struggle on an international plane. However just what we can do about all this I do not know. For the present ..... but here again I find it difficult to express this under circumstances where they have not up to now openly broken with the party--officially that is.. The original justification of L was the home conditions. Now it is the National Secretary and the Canadian party. The program is ok, the International is OK, but the Canadian leadership---well! where have we heard this before."

"I gather, and I say this with a great deal of thought and consideration, Tom and Lloyd are embarrassed by their political past--the organizational ties at least--in their new positions and their new associates in the IWA. There is nothing concrete to back up this conception except a lot of little episodes and expressions that they have mentioned. They are also too embarrassed before us with their new associations.

.... "I do wish you were here at this time. More than anything T and L have felt isolated in their own party--they did not feel they had had or hold any respect of the Toronto comrades or Reg. More than once they have mentioned that "the only ones they can trust are Ellaline and Bill" and I think that if one or two others had been here like yourself and Don that this ugly situation might have been avoided.. at this time anyways."

Reg's letter arrived yesterday and he promises that there will be another letter in the mail today.

Action taken to-date. I have written to both Reg and Bill urging them not to give up the headquarters yet until we have time to assess the situation. In my opinion this would be a terrible error even if it means that the N.O. receives practically no financial aid from Vancouver for a time. While I think that the branch is as a whole quite solid there are not many in it and there are two or three who may be ~~demoralized~~ demoralized by this final break up which for some unknown reason seems to have come as a ruder shock than I thought it would. When I left there a few months ago it was more or less understood by the most of the comrades that it was doubtful if we could hold Tom and Lloyd. At anyrate, Stan's request for indefinite leave of absence is in Reg's and ~~my~~ reaction to this situation. There are ~~two~~ two other comrades who are not very closely tied to the branch whose political education ~~is~~ sadly lacking, ~~and~~ who are personal followers of Lloyd to a considerable extent. It is doubtful if we can hold them but at anyrate if we give up the headquarters it will only add to the feeling of defeatism that must exist there. To defiantly hold on to the office, a declaration that we are and can go on without these people will tend to lift up the branch. It cost only 20 a month

Comrades elsewhere will just have to kick in more for a period.

What about Lloyd and Tom;

I think ~~first~~ that the branch must withdraw ~~from~~ <sup>Lloyd's</sup> leave of absence... they have not lived up to the terms of such a concession. Tom never ever asked for such a concession but in reality just took it. I think that the branch should then be instructed to lay charges against them... their failure to work with the party comrades in the IWA and their combination ~~with~~ with other forces in the union to our exclusion ~~is the only reason for their failure to work with the party comrades in the IWA and their combination with other forces in the union to our exclusion~~. The charges should be drawn up by the branch, they informed of them and a night set aside as soon as possible (a branch meeting with no other business on the agenda) where the charges will be read out, advanced and they will be given the opportunity to ~~defend~~ <sup>defend</sup> themselves. If they fail to appear, which seems likely from various bits of information at our disposal, they be expelled from the branch and suspended from the N.C.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

We could go through the <sup>R</sup>formality of setting up a Control Commission (see article VI in constitution) but it seems to me that the branch ~~can~~ <sup>can</sup> be depended upon to handle the job. It might be advisable to insist that Angus arrange to be there ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> the night set aside for the trial.

I think that it is necessary that we move fast in order to clear the air of this demoralizing experience and so that the branch can get on with its work. I have not yet made the proposals appearing on this page to the Vancouver branch. I am waiting for Reg's second letter which will no doubt have some practical suggestions. But I am writing this letter now and making these suggestions so that we can have a chance to think this over and then act. I will write in the next day or so

comradely

  
Ross

January 21, 1948

*Donner*  
*Detroit*  
*(-)*  
*(H. W. H. H.)*  
Dear Hugh Don and Maurice;

This letter, the first after a long enforced silence, is going to be quite a hodge podge as I have about six of your letters in front of me and I want to take up whatever that is in them requires any comments.

That was an amusing headline "McCallum retains Toronto Mayoralty"...as if there was at anytime any doubt that he would. You will no doubt be suprised to know ~~XXX~~ however that all during the last week of the campaign his ads carried in big bold type.... Make sure of McCallum. As you know Saunders paid no attention the campaign last year. This year it was commented upon several times in the press that McCallum was rolling up his sleeves.

As you can imagine the results created quite a stir. Did you hear the broadcasts? a friend of Joyces heard one of them in Peterborough. Our final short talk through the courtesy of the G. and M. on the night of the returns received many favourable comments. Held a meeting on the 9th at Playfers Hall where about 55 people turned up. Sold seven subs, almost 20 pamphlets. The audience contained a good many CCFers from the Woodbine Club the only stable CCF club in Toronto which has a permanent headquarters, Archer was there.

The campaign turned up about 20 odd contacts via phone mail enquiries etc. We are now going over them lining them up for a study class. So far we have got five or six who seem to be good types and geminely interested, mostly young with no previous political experience....so things are looking pretty good.

Received the Letter on the manifestos from the RCP and we will handle it all from here. It looks to me that Haston for some unknown reason thinks you need to interced on their behalf. Wrote them a letter at once suggesting that they should send us their pamphlets in equal value and if this was not possible we are agreeable to turning them over absolutely free. We have had a hell of a time with that pamphlet and all the monetary and political restrictions. You know that we ran three thousand off for the SWP. The U.S. Customs is still holding the first shipment of 750 up at the border.

What do you think of taking some through with you when you go over. I am addressing this letter to Hugh's home for this reason. Would it be practical to attempt to get them over. Is there any real risk to it. I figure a person could take twenty over in his coat pockets every time he went across. They dont take much room. Is there any possibility of their checking up on you. If there is any real risk why it would be foolish to bother about it. Perhaps you know of some other way we could get them over...I hear Windsor is a city of sin and vice. They have been held up by the U.S. Customs now for thre months and it looks to me ~~as~~ that they wont get in....the rest are just sitting here. Toronto sales have been pretty good at least 150 but at this rate ~~XXXXXXXX~~ the revolution will be here by the time we manage to sell them...and the SWP could really use them as they are getting low on stock with pamphlets and this is one of the best. Let us know what you think..We could wrap them in parcels of ten, already addressed and send them to you in bundles and you could just take a couple each time you went over if you think it is alright. But dont endanger our ability to get over.

Thanks for the bibliography on Democratic Centralism. How about making it a pint of sending us anything that the Detroit comrades are using for educational

purposes. We haven't received any educational material from the SWP for about two years and we could certainly do with some ideas guides etc. Would you take time out next time you go over to check on anything they have. About all we have is An Introduction to Marxism, Fascism, the Guide based on the Trial pamphlets. Send us copies of what they have and we can write away for bulk if we need more.

Thanks for your Trotsky quote. We did not use it in the last issue as we forgot to prepare one before going to the printer and in the flurry could not locate yours. Will use it in the next issue. Anytime you are reading the old man, Lenin, Leibknecht or Luxembourg and you find some pithy statement that is not too long send it in. They cannot be any shorter than the one you sent in, as a matter of fact it is a little short. (Six or seven lines of 60 characters.) We would prefer that the quotes sum up some important idea rather than just be a powerful inspirational message.

I see now that your (Don) letter of the 6th Dec raised a matter which I probably should have taken up at the time....however I thought that ~~XXXXXX~~ you would probably understand silence ~~XXXXXXXX~~ under the conditions here at that time as signifying agreement. That is agreement with your proposal to run for plant chairman. How ~~and~~ we make out? ~~XXXX~~

Didn't use the Windsor election material for one the basis of the clippings alone we could have only written on the failure to run a slate and the refusal to endorse the Stalinist candidate. Couldn't make out what Lyle Dotzert was getting at from the quotes in the paper on Brophy. His exposure of Brophy amounted to quite an exposure of the IPP who supported him.

You were asking whether Ed is considering returning. He is not yet working. He has been down at the office helping out doing the many odds and ends that always accumulate. This afternoon he was answering a couple of ads for men one at Sherbrooke and another at Sudbury I think. I have raised the matter of his going to Windsor again but he says there are no ads for linotypists there. He does not appear to want to settle down in Toronto and I think myself it would be a good idea for him to go to Windsor where we have comrades. As a matter of fact he does not appear to want to bother going to work at all...I suppose he is in the position after working at Moores 15 years non-stop. Have just asked him to write you

Sorry to hear about the Ford lay-off. Hope we can manage to stay in Canada and in the UAW. Very happy to hear that we have at last got a place, on Salter Avenue. What is the score with Napier now and that other fellow, I forget his name at this time, a left CCFer whose brother attacked the paper. Have we got sufficient core to start a class. At anyrate we will have a place to invite them up now and talk to them over a few cases of beer.... and warm them up for the SWP classes and eventually ours. Will pass it around that visitors will be welcome in Windsor now that we have all the facilities.

Perhaps you could take the Kutcher story for Ford Fact out of the last issue of Labor Challenge and add onto it the terrific union support it is rousing....the article was weak along this line but I did not want to make too many changes considering the comrade who wrote it up.

I am not going to say anything on the situation in the UAW as I see that you are getting lots of good advice from Detroit and it would be presumptuous on my part with my sketchy knowledge of the situation gained from your occasional letter to intercede. Keep sending us the Detroit UAW material...I like to pass it around to the trade unionists in the branch....as a matter of fact send me two copies so we can send one to Vancouver from now on

will write again shortly



Feb. 11 1948)

Dear Murray; (M74)

Received your letter and enclosed funds this morning and while I have a thousand other things to do as a lot has been piling up while I was owrjng on the paper I am dashing this off at once.

We have to decide in the next few days just what we intend to do about the W.C. Instructions have come through to be in Europe by mid next month and of course we would be compelled to go by the caheapest and therefore slow boat if we send anyone. Intend to hold a P.C. meeting this Saturday and if possible decide then and there. I do not think we can delay further as we would alos be compeeld to contact the U.S.

Would you sit down and tell us what you think. You have the copy of the correspondence at had...so you know Lloyd's attitude. Angus and Tom are a bit better but are opposed to the sending of a delegate on the basis of our financial position. Reg is alos in the same boat. There is obviously no money coming from either Vancouver or Prince Rupert for such a project. Paddy is undecided it seems to me. Ruth is in favour of my going. However there are a few matters that should be brought to your attention.

~~XX~~ I think we should consider the possible effects of my going on our relationship with Vancouver who are opposed to it. Would this make it more diffiault to work with them. The decision would be made by at the most ;two of you there, three of us here against four out there.

This would thrust a terrific amount of work onto Ruth's shoulders. The paper is almost a one man production. I am convinced now that Joe try as he does just cannot write. We have to completely rewrite all his atricles and they might just as well not be assigned. Vern's stuff though better still needs a lot of work on it and at any rate he is now on strike and it looks as if he might be for a considerable time. Gord's work is improving but still has to be gohe over very closely. Bill only seems to be able to do the usual one article of a magazine type. Whitney who is Vancouver correspondent just ignores our mail and we never get anything and when we do too late for any use. Angus prior to this issue was taking some of the paper off our hands but he is now owrking night and day on the Eaton drive which as you know is now out in the open. If I went there would be at least one issue of the paper to get out and probably two. Of course I could write up a couple of features before going and take up some of the burden. You too could write probalby two articles per issue. More could be culled from the Militant.

There is no doubt that the Toronto branch work would suffer. I no longer attend Toronto Executive meetings and have not gone out on the sub renewal rallies in the last two weeks. But there is a great deal of the Toronto work that is left in the hands of the officie. While in some ways it would be good to let the branch ride for a perios on its own power there is little doubt that it would be difficult on the basis of the ineperience of the newer comrades and the inability to give guidance on the part of the older comrades like Paddy.

There is little doubt in my mind that Ruth would have to quit her job which she just obtained.

Then there is the money problem. Well the U.S. suggests they could give us some aid. The minimum for the trip would be \$500. There is nothing in the treasury. No money will come from the West Coast. The comrade here in Toronto are carrying about all they can. Hugh is unable to contribute and he was one of the best. Dr. Cohen is ~~in~~ in South America. Roth has given me the brush off in the financial drive. In other words we could scare up very little here. What is the situation in Montreal. Could we make a special appeal to Ken, Louis, Alice etc. ?????????? We could always make a loan .....through the bank. But after all that is a debt. What could we ask of the U.S. whom we know are also very hard up financially. The old lady has the money that I turned over to her when in the army and I have been feeling her out to see if I could get it for a trip but she is very hostile to the idea.

We will have to decide at once and if we decide to send me we will have to see what we can raise at once and speculate on just how much we think we can ask from the U.S. ....~~DO NOT EXCEED \$5000~~ I would hate to do this.

Frankly I am very much undecided. I would like to hear your opinion. Would you send it at once so we have it for Saturday's meeting.

A few odds and ends.....

They changed that law about my succession to the mayoralty. The Board of Control handles the matter now and can appoint anyone it sees fit from any walk of life. Obviously Saunders ran just to keep out Smith who would have been on the Board of Control if McCallum had to run for mayor. Smith said to the star; "I did not think Bob would do this to the electorate. I always trusted Bob". I told the press that we thought there should be another election but the quoted everyone but us.

You have probably got the paper by now. We did not ask you for anything as I figured that as much as we needed your help you would not be able to do anything through the moving turmoil. A hell of a lot of mistakes in the paper. However hope to be better with the next issue. On the whole aside from the lousy proof job I think that it is a good issue...that is for a monthly.

I do not know what value a statement from you would have ~~in~~ Those guys are so bloody sensitive. I was going to write a letter to Lloyd on his ridiculous attitude but I thought it best to put the few remarks in the minutes. They have not recognized receipt of the minutes up until now. From what we can gather they take a principled opposition to the case that developed around the Clairmont attack. The branch asked that the information letter sent to M.C. members be released to it so I sent out a letter along with it trying to show them that we are not principally opposed to using organs of the bourgeois state against Stalinist hooliganism. I told them about Trotsky and the Dies Committee, Trotsky and the League of Nations Committee against terrorism etc. Have not heard from them on this. They took a stupid position on the protest against arms to Chiang demonstrations. It seems that it did not have the support of the unions so the whole thing is sheer adventurism. I started to write a long letter to Tom on it as he is the spokesman for this line but decided to not send it. You know after all the storm and flurry they raise about all the various disagreements we never seem to make any headway with them. They never carry forward the discussion and in this case it does not mean that they have agreed.

We have not yet received the document that they promised us a few months ago on the Bill 39 dispute. We will have to make a trip out there as soon as we possibly can and stay there for a few months working with them. I have finally got them to order some literature from Pioneer. So far they have not done any renewal work at all.

Do you think we should send a statement to them on their attitude? If we decide to send someone <sup>we</sup> think we should do so otherwise I am rather doubtful for they only seem to make relations more tense.

Gagnon development interesting...

Will write ~~XXXXX~~ later. I want to get this off in the mail so you can think the matter over and have a letter here by the latest Saturday morning.

Comradely

Ross



February 23 1948 ✓

Dear Comrade <sup>Farnell</sup> Dobbs; <sup>(Sup. New York)</sup>

After much hesitation and delay we have come to the conclusion that we will not be sending a delegate to the coming world gathering. Knowing the great effort that has been expended in its preparation and its great significance this decision has been a very painful one for us to make.

There are several reasons for our decision. Perhaps none by itself justifies this decision but taken together we feel that they do.

The movement is under extreme financial strain. We have already been compelled to cut the full time staff to one person and revert to the publication of a monthly paper *for short period*

In view of our financial difficulties everyone of the leading committee members on the West Coast ~~have~~ voiced strong opposition to sending representation. Their opposition to suggestions that every effort must be made to finance a delegate even at the cost of curtailing other activities has been so sharp that we hesitate to override it. Our relationship with these comrades has at best been none too satisfactory. In the past two years we have spent much time and effort in drawing these comrades closer to the N.O. and developing a national leadership. A decision to go ahead despite their opposition might ~~might~~ have serious repercussions that would take a long long time to repair.

Our impression from M.'s report and the various documents that we have received lately has lead us to believe that the situation is not as critical as it had been previously. While no doubt our delegation would be extremely valuable to increase the weight of the orthodox tendencies it would appear that our attendance is not so crucial.

Consultation with ~~the~~ the N.O. members has confirmed our fears that we would be unable to raise any substantial portion of the \$500 expense minimum. The comrades appreciate the generous offer of financial aid. However we do not feel at all justified in asking American comrades whom we know are also hard pressed to make this considerable sacrifice on our behalf.

We have raised some funds for the conference and as soon as we receive some forms that will enable us to purchase American funds we will be forwarding ~~xxx~~ them.

I am sure that the next conference will see us much stronger and able ~~to~~ to play a responsible role in the movement.

Fraternally

Ross Dowson

Feb ruary 26 1948 /

Dear Murray;

Had intended to write you before but have been tied up with office routine and in the last week with the Roger's strike. The Stalinists have been slowly leading the strike to disaster. On Monday they opened the picket line to the office staff Provincial police came in Monday but the mood of the picket line under Vern and Stellas in silence was such that no one crossed the line. On Tuesday they did cross the line freely. On Wednesday they crossed and the company managed to make the beginning of a ~~XXXX~~ back to work movement amongst the factory workers. This morning the whole thing broke out and Vern Stella picket marshall and 4 others were arrested. The Star report which you have probably read is ~~essentially~~ accurate. We have been fighting for the holding of the line. Both Vern and Stella called for tightening up at the Sunday meeting...but the Stalinists won with a super slick secret strategy that was going to bring the company to the conference table. All their promises have been fruitless ~~XXX~~ and our policy has been making headway. We have been calling for the pulling of Canada Wire which is in the same local and 1,700 strong. Give the police a deadline---if not out by then we pull Canada Wire. It looks like we will be able to pull out Canada Wire and possibly Leo where incidentally Frank McKenna is working tomorrow morning. Vern Stella and the gang are all out on bail. Vern was originally charged with inciting to riot but he is now charged with obstructing a worker from doing what he has a legal right to do--go to work. The picket marshall who goes along with the Stalinists is on the same charge as Vern. Stella and most of the other are on charge for obstructing an officer.

On Monday last I Dick and Angus were all up on the line and could have if we had desired closed up the line or at least raised hell but we thought it best to let it ride for a few days and let the workers learn by their own experience. Well it looks ve y good now. Get a copy of tonights paper if you have not already done so. Vern's picture is there and so is Stellas.

Joe gave me the check...just in time as we have been pressed by the printer and there was practically nothing to pay me as it was.

We are having an editorial meeting on Saturday afternoon for the next issue of the paper. We could do very well with an article from you or even perhaps two if you can do so. A good article would be the wave of police suppressions in Quebec playing up the padlock law enforcement on Combat (repercussion on LC.) and the Parent sentence. Up until today I was thinking we could make this the lead with a photo on the front page there have been a couple of good ones. However we will probably use one of the very good strike pictures in today's paper.

The dead-line is Monday morning March the eighth.

If you have anything else that you think would be valueable drop us a line. Would you have time to take anything else on. I assume you are still working in steel so I wont send you any feature material to work on.

I wanted to get this off in tonights mail before I went home. Will write later more fully.

Amadeo  
Ross

February 26 1948

Dear Don and Hugh;

*Dotzger*  
*Winn*  
*(Winnipeg)*

*Angus*  
*Dick - ?*  
*Vern Olson*

Sorry to have been so long in answering your last letter. As you know Ruth is now working outside and I seem to have a hell of a time just doing the routine such as reading most of the press that comes in, handling the must correspondence etc. Of course the past two or three weeks have been taken up very profitably. ~~Myself and Vern~~ Vern and Stella are still out on strike at Rogers. I have been up on the picket line the last few mornings when it looked as if we would be able to break through the capitulatory policies of the leadership and the provincial police came in. The Stalinists control the local and of course have the prestige that goes with leadership. They have been backing down and backing down all the past two weeks until the situation is getting rather serious. We had a long meeting on Sunday and decided to launch a powerful attack against their policies and for holding the picket line pulling out Canada Wire if the provincial police appeared on Monday. Both Vern and Stella spoke were applauded but the leadership promised some secret strategy and made the issue a vote of confidence. They were of course supported. Angus Dick and I went up to give them a hand on Monday and to see if we would be able to pull off our policy on the picket line. We met with considerable success and gave the Stalinist leadership the jitters. There was a real feeling for sealing the plant up tight despite leadership promises to let in the 300 odd office workers. The Stalinists soft soaped the police and tried to keep the picket line 50 to 100 yards away from the plant. On two different occasions we managed to go through the police lines and picket the Rogers plant itself. ~~After that~~ under the pressure of the leadership we were compelled to withdraw. The Stalinist tactics have completely failed, they have open the line to the office staff and still the company refuses to bargain and is now working up a back to work movement which will have the protection of the police. Vern and Stella's position at the Sunday meeting is being completely vindicated, the two forays on Monday are building up a feeling of independence from the Stalinists. The workers are now testing the leaderships policy in life and are becoming quite critical. We are letting time do its work but pushing for a change in policy. We will know the score better two days from now. We are pushing for the giving to the police of a deadline within which to pull out of town or we strike Canada Wire, a large plant in the same local. We are also pushing for a complete closing up of the picket line.

The comrades and myself are also quite busy doing contact work and sub renewal work. Our renewal work has turned up some good contacts. From them and a list of other persons who have come around the odd time we have compiled a list of people who are visiting and working on to come into the party. We have picked up a very fine negro and his wife who have given us a donation and came down to our last social. The more able comrades have been picking up a less experienced comrade and calling on these persons to have a talk to them. It looks like we will have 3 or 4 new members in the next two months.

I suppose you are both working now. In the next week or two it would be a good idea to make a point of going around to cover the expired L.C. list. I am enclosing the latest batch. This is the last of the sub drive expirations. Let us know if you cannot cover this last batch for any reason before the next issue of the paper comes off and we will mail it.

We are having the editorial meeting for the next issue on Saturday. Let me know if you think you have anything that really should go into this issue. It should be quite important now that we are still a monthly with this issue. But we can always use something for trade union notes which can be put into smaller space. Drop us a short note in the next ~~XXXXXX/XXX~~ few days if you have anything.

Good to see that you have been able to go to town with the escalator clause. I think you are going to have more opportunity with recent developments. Paddy got his local to adopt it although its contract doesn't come up for a few months. They passed the resolution for XXX last weeks Ontario CCL Convention. Paddy pushed it onto the floor and put up quite a fight. The president of his local went all out behind him. But the Stalists and CCF attacked it with the usual disortrtions. The various small locals who have the clause have provided us with powerful ammunition (reported in last issue of paper) But it seems that they did not have delegates on the floor. The resolution had been left until the elections had taken place and two thirds of the delegates had gone. Viceroy Rubber has just signed a sliding scale. I see from the latest Militant that Renther has been trying to do a hatchet job on it. What with this and the reports of the 195 delegates it will probably hit the floor again and provoke considerable interest.

I see you would like to have a copy of a contract that included the sliding scale. We do not have any such thing although we wrote up a dummy one in an article that appeared on page two of the December issue of the paper. I will drop a note to a fellow we know in the Streetrailway workers union here and see if he can send me a copy of the contract they have.

Hope you received the election material you asked for. Could not spare any more of the mimeographed one as we need a few for the files.

Hugh's report was rather insprinig. Particularly the developments in the old Thomas-Addes caucus. All I hope is that we will be able to hold it together and give it a program. The American comrades will be a terrific help in this respect. Glad to hear that you have managed to get one of your contacts over to Detroit.

Have you two managed to get a place where you could bring contact to without going through scrutiny of the local GPU.

Angus has just come into the office iwht a contact that we want to talk to. He is organising with him. Will write later

comradely

Ross





officials in the Stalinist IFF for their participation and leadership of a Stalinist attack on our comrades which resulted in injuries to one or two comrades and the destruction of clothes of another comrade. The P.C. is of the opinion that a principled opposition to the use of capitalist courts etc is implicit in the Vancouver document and that the comrades do not appreciate the use that these organs can be put to to expose the nature of Stalinism and in turn the capitalist courts themselves. National Secretary instructed to get in touch with the branch to ~~ask for~~ <sup>ask</sup> the members of its opinion and to attempt to obtain a clear picture of their attitude on this question. Recommended that if there is a document forthcoming that it be included in the coming bulletin along with the previous two pieces of correspondence by the P.C. for the education of the party.

Comrade LW of the P.C. has requested that the P.C.- E.C. discuss the advisability of putting Labor Challenge on "a monthly basis say till the end of the year" and to supplement the paper by having Vancouver and Toronto issue periodical bulletins dealing with issues on the spot". The P.C. is of the opinion that this would be a serious backward step for the party, that in view of the war drive, developments in Europe, the red baiting campaign etc that the party make all the more effort to maintain L.C. on a twice monthly basis. The P.C. is strongly opposed to a retreat to a monthly as this would throw us back to a very limited circle, prevent us from presenting our program in a popular manner by <sup>most</sup> transforming the paper into a theoretical organ. The P.C. is convinced that every effort <sup>type</sup> made to maintain the paper as a twice monthly, to recommence publication on this basis with the start of the sub campaign and to continue on this basis as long as we are financially able. It would be preferable to miss the odd issue as financial difficulties compel us ~~miss~~ rather than to retreat to a monthly. The cost and difficulties of publishing periodical bulletins to supplement a monthly paper would in our opinion be as great as carrying a twice monthly.

P.C. accepts the E.C. E.C. member's recommendation that the present L.C. correspondent remain.

The P.C. had a short period of discussion on recent developments around the recent IXXX Stalinist turn in this country and the present situation arising from the red-baiting drive.

Ntl Secty reports that it will probably not be physically possible for the E.C. to put out the bulletin on the situation in the Fourth International since the war and the statutes and thesis of the Fourth as was hoped. Report that the bulletin on the Toronto elections etc is coming along slowly. The Whitney contribution hasn't yet come in.

April 1 1948

Dear Murray;

*Donna, MTL*

*Jean-Marie Bédard  
Julien?*

The main purpose of this short note is to ask you to send back the I.S. internal bulletin on the report of the Fourth International Since the War. I thought we had a copy here but I find that the two copies that came in were both sent out. We need this internal bulletin for an educational we are holding this next Tuesday night so I would appreciate it if you rolled it up and sent it in the next mail.

I haven't been corresponding with Jean as I can hardly find time for the most pressing things now that Ruth is working. I sent him the last minutes but have not been sending him the internal bulletins. I hope you have been passing them on. A day or so ago he forwarded a copy of Combat, nothing else was enclosed. I am wondering what the left turn of the LPP has done with Jean. I am sure he must be much impressed with the large headline on the last issue of Combat against conscription. I hope you have had some good discussions with him recently on Stalinism.

It was good to see Ken again. He seems to be coming along quite well. He tells me you have been beset by innumerable misfortunes. I hope they're clearing up by now. I understand you are going to start a class very shortly and that Jean and Julien have already managed to pick up one or two contacts.

I hope you will let us know what you think of the various points raised in the last minutes as soon as possible. You might also say a few words on the convention that I think we must plan to hold this fall. The CCL Convention is slated for Toronto again this year so we have good hopes of getting one or two comrades in from the West. I think we should make the ~~best~~ plans as soon as possible and prepare a couple of documents for pre-convention discussion. I think there should be one on Tasks and perspectives and that we should polish off that declaration of Principles. Even at this date there is not too much time.

Is there anything that you think should be in the paper this issue that you can write from there. I do not believe that we will be pressed for copy this issue as Ruth heard while she was in New York that the next issue is carrying ~~extensive~~ material on a new Stalinist slander—that Trotsky renounced his whole past just prior to his assassination. I understand that they have published this in a pamphlet that they are spreading through France.

Hope you can let us have some money in the next ~~mail~~ correspondence.

Toronto has been doing very well on ~~renewals~~ <sup>renewals</sup>. Two weeks ago a rally picked up 17. Vancouver has done practically nothing from the results that we have received. We have also been doing a little organized contact work. It has not produced any actual members as yet but has brought a considerable number of new faces around one or two of which look promising. with any sort of break we should get a couple of new members shortly. We expect to try our hand at the street corner meetings in a month or so also

*Give my regards to Jeanette*

Comradely

*Ross*



April 4 1948 ✓

(Dowson, Montreal)

Dear Murray;

Received your check for \$94 alright and have turned it over to the printer.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

In my last letter I told you that we had nothing in particular lined up for you for the next issue. That is still the situation with the next issue but I wonder if you can take over the May Day manifesto again this year. I am writing you right away as we have had to make changes in our plans and we will have to go to press with the May Day issue extra early.

We just received a letter from Reg informing us that they are at last going to hold a public meeting in the name of the party.....a May Day meeting on May 2 Sunday. They want 2,000 copies of the paper with the manifesto in it for distribution purposes and they must have the papers at the very latest ~~XXXXXX~~ the May first morning. As you can see the week end does not come out so hot and we will have to have the paper off the 23rd of May or at the very latest the 26th in order to be at all sure that it will get there in time. We should have five days for shipment and delivery.

This means that we should have the manifesto here in the office on May <sup>19th</sup> in the morning at the latest.

If you were planning anything for the mid-April issue let it drop as we will have to go to press this coming week in order to give Ed time to handle two issues of the paper this month. We hope to get the mid-April off at the end of this week. ~~XXXXXX~~ While this catches us off balance I do not think we will have too much trouble as Ruth tells us the next issue of the Militant is carrying a half issue story on a Stalinist slander that Trotsky ditched all his ideas just prior to his assassination. The French press has published what is supposed to be the old man's last testament. We will have to carry this story and it will take a big slice of the paper. We were toying with the idea that perhaps we should skip the mid-April issue but we think that it would be too big a gap in the paper and we could not carry this frame-up story taking so much room in the same issue with a lengthy May Day Manifesto. So we are going ahead with the mid-April issue this week holding the editorial meeting tonight.

Anxious to settle this discussion on the sub drive, will you answer the minutes in the next day or so. Haven't heard from the West yet on this but we should really make the decision this week so that if we decide ~~XXXX~~ the sub campaign should start April 15 we can carry it in the paper.

Barry Goody went to Hamilton yesterday to do some renewal work. He also tried his hand at some door to door work 25 cent subs. He got four in an hour and would have got more except that he got tied up in a foreign part of the city. He says that he felt no effect from the red-baiting drive....this is good to know as I thought it might seriously cut into the sub work.

A few words on the May Day manifesto. Haven't had a chance to give it much thought but am of the opinion that the main part of it should be the war danger and the coming depression and that we should advance our program to meet both these situations. our military program but above all our program to meet the depression...there was a

good front page edit on this in the Militant just a few months ago. I am enclosing last years May Day manifesto (Militant ) along with the last few that we put out. I would send you a couple of bound volumes but don't want to take the time out right now to wrap them up and express them .

Let me know by the end of this week at the very latest if you cannot handle the May Manifesto for any reason. Havent discussed this with anyone yet but I think we should carry it like we did in last years issue.. .right down the front page and the entire editorial column.

Comradely



Ross

We intend to use last years Militant cartoon .."orker's world or none.....

Return the Militant when  
done, well you - as we will  
be shipping our issues for Photocopies

Have you mailed the report on  
the Fourth Intl yet - ?

April 16 1948

*Robert*  
Dear Don and Hugh;

*Don*  
*(Windsor)*

*Sonia*  
*Meyer* *front*

Thanks very much for the clippings that you sent in. Unfortunately the paper had already been made up and we were not in a position to make any use of them but it looks like we will write something on the hooligan attack in the next issue. I have just picked up the latest issue of the Tribune and I see that they have a considerable coverage of the attack. You might do well to read through a copy and let us know if there is anything of interest not covered. The deadline for this issue is Tuesday April 20. We have had to shove it a head so that we will be certain that the Vancouver comrades will get 2,000 extra copies in plenty of time for the May Day parade

Well it is very good to get that money from Maurice. I hope you can keep it coming regular. I imagine he has had quite a boost from the very favourable trade union work that we are doing. I am enclosing the two receipts and will try to find time as soon as the next issue is off the press to drop him a short letter.

By the time you receive this letter you will have found a new addition to our forces in Windsor...Ed Aldis. I believe you knew Ed quit his job after holding it down for fifteen years. I thought that this was a good idea as anyone fifteen years in one shop, which isn't any too good a one to begin with, loses all perspective of party building there. Ed has been working down at the office and is anxious to move around a bit. ~~XXXXXX~~ Certainly if he contemplates leaving Toronto it is best that he should go to Windsor or some other town where we have comrades ~~XXX~~ who he can work with. Well we just about have a branch now. It looks like we will have a man in the very nest of reaction .... the Windsor Star. What do you think of doing some distributions now? With the three of you now all skilled workers you are in a position to rent the best apartment in the town.

We are all anxious to see how we did in the Chrysler paper...send us a copy as soon as it is off the press.

It would be a good idea for some one comrade to take on the responsibility of ~~XXXX~~ collecting and sending the sustaining money each month. The financial hub of the party is fast drifting inot Windsor. ....and it is important that we handle this matter with regularity or we may possibly drift inot difficulties.

With the last issue we are back on the old twice monthly again. We are commencing the sub campaign on the first of May. All the final details are not yet decided as we have been waiting to hear from both Vancouver and Prince Rupert N.C. members before sending out the circular letter. What do you think of the possibilities in Windsor. It would seem to me that they are none too good with the violent campaign that is going on there. There will be extensive changes in the campaign this year as to its duration and objectives etc. But I would like to get an idea of what you think the situation is there. It will of course be impossible to foretell with certainty until we give it a try but what do you think

I hope you guys are holding up the good name of the RWP in the name getting campaign.

Have we been able to get a clearer picture of the situation with regards to our work in Ford?

Hugh in his last short note mentioned that we have taken over the post of Financial ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Secretary of the 195 caucus. It would appear from this that the Stalinists are pulling out. I am doubtful level if the caucus can stand such a large exodus and maintain itself the old. It would seem to me to be their opinion that without them it will completely disintegrate or they would have adopted more strenuous action. I am of course not any too familiar with the situation but I think we should reconsider now ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the role of the caucus...its activities and perspectives. It would seem to me that we will have to limit its activities or they are going to become automatically limited and we will be faced with the utter demoralization of its components. It has been meeting once a week or once in two weeks hasn't it. This is good when the caucus is faced with important opportunities of struggling for its program. But from what I can see this is not the situation right now and it is necessary that we hold on until new opportunities present themselves. I think we should set ourselves very modest objectives in so far as the caucus itself is concerned. We are not going to be able to do by an increased amount of work on our part what conditions will not permit us to do.

What is the reason for the Stalinist withdrawal.....a deal with the Reuther clique, are they now beating a fast retreat before the red-baiting attacks or is it a combination of both. This red-baiting which has been built up to such explosive conditions in Windsor cannot help but effect our work ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and the possibilities (immediate) of the caucus. But at the same time as it may force us to trim our ~~XXXXXX~~ sails somewhat it may also possibly open up other possibilities. The red-baiting drive may frighten some and the Stalinist withdrawal from the caucus may demoralize ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ some but others may learn some of the lessons that flow from both. It seems to me that possibly our broader more general work in the union may be limited to a greater extent but our ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ concentrated political work may find some new openings.....true not as many as would arise in a period of expansion of our caucus work.

Above all ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ we will have to try to keep the caucus together. But this can only be done on a much lower plain of activity and demands upon its membership.

What was the result of the meeting on formulating a caucus program?

And of course what do the American comrades think of it all

Sonia and Meyer have just come in from a distribution so it looks as if this letter might as well close. Let's hear from you first chance you get. I won't be able to answer you for the next week as I will be busy with the paper but will do so first chance I get.

with warmest regards

Ross

✓  
April 27 1948

Dear Murray; (2)

I received your very disappointing telegram this morning. I was all set to come down. You will find that I increased the Montreal bundle on the basis of the proposed meeting. I thought we could easily get rid of that. What you don't need and cannot use use you can send back.

I think that the meeting was a very good idea. Too bad it ~~was~~ didn't come off. Do you think it would be possible to hold street corners meetings this summer. Perhaps I could come down and test it. Possibly we might be able to find a hall-owner who would permit us to have an meeting at some later date. I would like to come down anytime it can be arranged

Well I suppose you have read the manifesto. We made perodically no changes at all. What changes we did make were actually not editorial ones at all. We counted the lines ~~XXX~~ and it looked as if it was made to the exact order. However after it was set up we found that it was almost thirty lines too much. We took out the Trotsky quote ~~(nothing)~~ and pulled out those parts which were good and actually helped round out the article but were not absolutely essential. So the cuts are not exactly as we would have made them ~~XXXXXXXX~~ as we had to do them on the stone. Hope you think the changes were alright. I think that the edit is very good myself and doesn't appear ~~EX~~ to be a sweated over one at all.

I am not going to say anything more as I have to start on the branch educational. Stella was going to give it tonight but she just phoned up that her mother is sick and she will not be here. We missed last weeks and so cannot afford to do so again.

Will write tommorrow or the next day

Comradely



Ross

April 29 1948 ✓

Dear Murray;

As you can well imagine we are going to have a tough time getting the next few issues of the paper out and do all the other work, namely the sub work... the main burden of which falls on Toronto and in particular on the same comrades who write for the paper. I wonder if you can give us an article for the next three issues of the paper. If we knew we were going to get a 5 Or 6 page job each issue it would take a big part of the paper off our hands.

I have been thinking for sometime now that it would be a good idea if we ran a series of possibly three articles on the following;

- 1 The Russian Revolution, how it came about and its objective
- 2 What happened to it
- 3 What the revolution will look like in America

The fact that a whole new generation has grown up absolutely ignorant of the objectives of the revolution and the hopes that it instilled in the hearts of the masses, I think requires us to present in a popular form the true story of ~~THE~~ 1917. The objectives of the bolsheviks ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ need to be told particularly since the Stalinists have long been covering them up so that the reality today ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ doesn't appear to be in such fundamental contradiction. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The red baiters and the CCF have also been doing a job to slander the real purpose of the Bolsheviks, ~~XX~~ identifying Lenin and the revolution with Stalin and the Soviet Union today. I think the first one could be an inspiring article ~~XX~~ about the great hopes of the workers, how the Bolsheviks were the best, how the ~~XXX~~ revolution was a democratic one with the full and heroic support of the masses, and what a great inspirational force it was to the oppressed of the world. I think that all you need for this is Sergei's From Lenin to Stalin, John Reed's Ten Days and the old man's History.

The second will give us the opportunity to show how stalinism arose, Why the USSR is what it is today, the roots of our movement and its struggle for workers' democracy.

The third could be used to show how the North American revolution will not be confronted with what the R.R. was, how it will open up new vistas for all of mankind... in a few words give us an opportunity to put forward our objective and what it will look like. The old man wrote an article along this line for Liberty about 15 years ago.

While the first two are in a sense historical I think we should and could easily approach them from the questions that are confronting the workers today and all the falsehoods that have been spread about the R.R. designed to undermine the struggle for socialism here. I think we should pose the questions that are in the minds of the new generation of workers particularly CCF workers ~~about the~~ Russian Revolution... questions that have been implanted in their minds by the CCF leaders and petty bourgeois intellectuals that cause them to doubt the communism of Lenin.

What do you think of this series?...we could run them consecutively in the next three issues. Perhaps you have some better ideas. I myself would like to get away from the history itself but to use the ~~XXXXXX~~ history to



*Joe Rosenthal  
Vern Olson  
Barry Brent*  
to answer the slanders against the proletarian revolution. We could I think spare 6 pages per issue for such a series and it would be well worth it.

If you have a better idea, fine....drop me a line and we could talk it over.

I would like to start the series with the next issue. The deadline will be May 10 or at the very latest here on May 11th.

Angus started to read up in preparation for such a series but it seems to me that an assignment like this is better to farm out from the center. Our staff is small and we need them to handle new developments ~~XXX~~ Of course if anything important comes up in Quebec we would like that too. Incidentally there has been no real improvement in so far as building a staff is concerned. We are going to have a real journalistic discussion meeting before the next issue. Joe and Vern don't seem to be making any headway. If we ~~were~~ were not so ~~inadequate~~ *inadequate* I would draw the conclusion that this is perhaps a field where they have no talents. Barry seems to me to be the best even though we have been re-writing his stuff. It is the most thought over. As far as the West Coast is concerned...Borland was coming along well but the job has been shifted around to Whitney who was also showing great promise and now onto Reg. So far Reg is not very reliable but he cannot be worse than Whitney. Ruth wrote the last Van couver article. Reg wrote in that there was nothing doing ...although I suggested an article on the new tax.

In the next issue I think we must carry a statement by the P.C. on our position on the CCF and the coming elections. I will try to draft it this coming week-end and send you a copy to see ~~what~~ *if* you think of it. Our support will have to be very critical. We need such a statement not only for our readers but also for our own comrades.

*done*  
Almost 11/50 I will close this off. You will be glad to know that Joe has brought Joyce into the party.

If you think the proposed series is good, drop me a line and I will send you ~~what~~ ever material you need. The old man's speech on the R.R. to the Copenhagen students would be useful. I can also send you his Liberty article.

Comradely

*Ross*  
Ross



*Found in 1948 (April)*

87 King Street West;  
Toronto, Ontario.

Mr. C.W. Mercer,  
P.O. Box #2  
Windsor, Ontario.

Dear Sir,

The Socialist Workers Party of the United States informs me that you are in possession of a subscription to the theoretical publication of the party "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL".

We in Canada have an organization, a counterpart in the same international organization as the Socialist Workers Party and are more than delighted to hear of your interest in our political ideas.

We in Canada publish a bi-monthly paper "LABOR CHALLENGE" which applies a Marxist interpretation of current Canadian events. Enclosed please find a copy.

WE are in a very fortunate position of having people in Windsor whom are very close to us. I should like to refer you to them and possibly in discussion and meetings they might possibly clarify and enlarge upon our ideas in greater detail.

I should like to recommend Hugh Dowson of 375 Bridge Avenue, Windsor, whom informs me he will make every effort to see you at any time convenient to yourself.

Yours truly,

National Secretary



Property of The  
SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL  
LEAGUE

# *Against Wall Street and The Kremlin*

Manifesto of the Second World Congress  
of the Fourth International to the  
Exploited Masses of the World

Published by  
**WORKERS PRESS**  
for the  
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## Congress of Fourth International



The Fourth International was founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution. He was murdered in Mexico by a GPU assassin on August 20, 1940. The Fourth International held its Second World Congress in Paris during the first three weeks of April, 1948. Approximately 50 delegates representing 22 organizations from 19 different countries, took part. Among them were representatives from most European countries under U.S. or Soviet occupation, from the American continent, Africa, the Middle and Far East.

The Presidium of the Congress is shown above. From left to right: Comrades Favre Bleibtreu (France), S. Santen (Holland), Pierre Frank (France), Jock Haston (England), Colin R. DeSilva (Ceylon) and Munis (Spain).

## Trotskyist Organizations

### ARGENTINA

Grupa Cuarta Internacional publishes Voz Proletaria.  
Grupa Obrera Marxista publishes Frente Proletario.  
Unión Obrera Revolucionaria publishes El Militante.

### AUSTRALIA

Revolutionary Workers Party publishes The Militant.

### AUSTRIA

Internationale Kommunisten Österreichs (Austrian section of the Fourth International) publishes der Spartakist.

### BELGIUM

Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Belgian section of the Fourth International) publishes La Lutte Ouvrière.

### BOLIVIA

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Bolivian section of the Fourth International) publishes Lucha Obrera.

### BRAZIL

Orientacao Socialista.

### BULGARIA

International Communist Party (Bulgarian section of the Fourth International).

### CANADA

Revolutionary Workers Party (Canadian section of the Fourth International) publishes Labor Challenge.

### CHILE

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Chilean section of the Fourth International) publishes El Militante.

### CHINA

\* International Communist League (Chinese section of the Fourth International) publishes Struggle, Red Flag.

### CUBA

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Cuban section of the Fourth International).

### CYPRUS

International Communist Party (Cyprian section of the Fourth International) publishes Ergatis.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

International Communists of Czechoslovakia (Czech section of the Fourth International).

### DENMARK

Revolutionære Kommuniste, publishes Det Ny Arbejderblad, Arbejderpolitik.

### EGYPT

Revolutionary Communist Party, varied publications.

### ENGLAND

Revolutionary Communist Party (English section of the Fourth International) publishes Socialist Appeal, Workers International News, Solidaritaet (in German).

### FRANCE

Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French section of the Fourth International) publishes La Verite.

### GERMANY

International Communists of Germany (German section of the Fourth International) publishes Die Internationale, theoretical organ, and Unser Weg, der Marxist.

### GREECE

International Communist Party (Greek section of the Fourth International) publishes Ergatike' Pale'.

### HOLLAND

Revolutionaire Communistische Partij (Dutch section of the

## Trotskyist Organizations (Cont.)

### Fourth International) publishes SOUTH AFRICA

De Tribune.

Fourth International Organization of South Africa publishes Workers' Voice.

### INDIA

Bolshevik Leninist Party of India (Indian section of the Fourth International) publishes New Spark and several local organs.

### IRELAND

Revolutionary Socialist Party (Irish section of the Fourth International) publishes Workers' Republic.

### ITALY

4a Internazionale (theoretical journal).

### MEXICO

The Mexican section of the Fourth International publishes Lucha Obrera.

### PALESTINE

Revolutionary League of Palestine (Palestinian section of the Fourth International) publishes Kol Hamaamad in Hebrew and At'tali'ah in Arabic.

### PERU

Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Peruvian section of the Fourth International) publishes Revolution.

### SPAIN

Grupa Comunista Internacionalista (Spanish section of the Fourth International) publishes Lucha de Clases.

### SWITZERLAND

Marxistische Aktion Schweiz (Swiss section of the Fourth International).

### UNITED STATES

Socialist Workers Party publishes The Militant and a theoretical organ, Fourth International.

### URUGUAY

Lucha Obrera Revolucionaria (Uruguayan section of the Fourth International) publishes Contra la Corriente.

### USSR

Bolshevik-Leninists (Soviet section of the Fourth International).

### VIET-NAM

Bolshevik Leninist Group (Vietnamese section of the Fourth International) publishes Vo San.

1948-May

**Against Wall Street and the Kremlin!**

**For the Program of the “Communist Manifesto!”**

**For the World Socialist Revolution!**

The Fourth International was founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution. He was murdered in Mexico by a GPU (Stalin’s state and international secret police – ed.) assassin on August 20, 1940. The Fourth International held its Second World Congress in Paris during the first three weeks of April, 1948. Approximately 50 delegates representing 22 organizations from 19 different countries, took part. Among them were representatives from most European countries under U.S. or Soviet occupation, from the American continent, Africa, the Middle and Far East.

The Presidium of the Congress is shown above. From left to right: Comrades Favre Bleibtreu (France), S. Santen (Holland), Pierre Frank (France), Jock Haston (England), Colin R. DeSilva (Ceylon) and Munis (Spain).

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, meeting in Paris on the hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto, with representatives from 33 sections attending, considers it necessary to give, on the basis of its communist ideas, aims and tendencies, its answers to the problems now facing the revolutionary vanguard and humanity as a whole.

After living through two world wars, an unprecedented economic crisis and terrible experiences under dictatorial regimes, humanity is now confronted with the threat of a new economic catastrophe and a new world conflagration.

The present situation is the inevitable culmination of the capitalist system. With unequalled clarity, the authors of the Communist Manifesto a century ago described the laws of motion in capitalism. They revealed its tendency toward unlimited expansion, and its need to refashion the whole world in its image. Today capitalist production has penetrated the most backward countries of the globe. It has unloosed miraculous productive forces. It has constantly revolutionized its own technique, substituting the combustion motor and electricity for steam, and breaking down matter to feed its insatiable need for energy.

Capitalism has made these advances between economic crises, by means of its own contradictions. Having previously destroyed the former modes of production, the industrial bourgeoisie, as it advances, continually destroys the most inefficient of its own.

After completing the entire cycle of its existence, capitalism has begun to reject the very principles attendant at its birth. The merging of trusts and cartels into veritable industrial and banking monopolies eliminates free competition within a country and even between countries in many branches of industry. Just when its feverish advance appeared free of all obstacles, capitalist expansion imposed artificial restrictions upon production. Having reached its natural

limit toward the creation of the world market, all its explosive force turns upon the bourgeoisie itself. Then the system begins to decline, as the two authors of the Manifesto predicted.

Economic crises succeed one another at an ever faster pace, paralyzing the life of whole nations, and reducing entire layers of society to complete ruin. Social crises convulse all countries, undermining governments and precipitating revolutions, counter-revolutions and civil wars.

The immense technical achievements are diverted from general use or utilized exclusively for destructive ends. The sudden spurts in production which periodically still take place no longer enrich but rather impoverish the vast majority of mankind. The perfecting of the division of labor on a world scale shatters the world market. The evolution of history completely changes its course. Instead of bringing civilization to the backward peoples of the world, capitalism in its decline destroys the political conquests which marked its rise in the more advanced countries. A fetter upon human progress, the bourgeoisie becomes a reactionary force in every sphere.

War epitomizes all the destructive and barbaric features of declining capitalism and dominates all human activities today. Technique, science, industrial production, politics and literature, all place themselves more and more exclusively in its service.

### **Danger of Total Destruction**

The global character of the imperialist war is derived today from the world character of capitalist production and its crises. The war of 1914-18 was still essentially a European war. Referring to the Second World War, which left the three Americas as well as large sections of Africa and Asia intact, Trotsky stated in 1938 that the South Pole alone would be excluded as a base of operation. It is profoundly significant that the present strategic preparations for a Third World War point to a desperate struggle for the domination of the Antarctic continent. In such a war no people or continent would be spared, no national capital would be left intact, not a single oasis of civilization would be overlooked. The unchained forces of destruction would destroy in a few years what it has taken centuries of labor to build and would cover the whole globe with flaming ruins.

Mankind is horror-stricken at the rapidity with which the military alliances for the next carnage are being forged even before the last war is formally ended by a peace treaty. This horror is focused upon the atomic bomb in particular. Just as the war seems to divest itself of all human control, and follow its own sinister logic independent of the activity of thinking human beings, so the innumerable implications of the atomic bomb elude the plans of both experts and diplomats, upsetting the calculations of generals as well as of the stock market sharks. Never has man stood so aghast before one of his own creations, never has the worker been dominated by so formidable an object, never has living labor been so subjugated by dead labor. But at the same time that atomic energy leads capitalism with all its contradictions to the total destruction of human civilization, it also opens up the perspective of a new epoch of peace and well-being in a society ruled by the working class.



Intellectuals and petty bourgeois scholars are seeking a palliative for this permanent threat, which imposes a reign of terror over mankind, in the form of a “world government.” For some this proposal is simply a theoretical justification of Wall Street’s thirst for power. Others are sincerely striving for a magic formula to control the forces of destruction constantly unleashed by declining capitalism. Neither of them grasps the chain that links the global war with the decline of capitalism.

Only production for war is capable today of creating new outlets for capital, which is stifling in its own world market. War is nothing but the special mechanism with which the declining bourgeoisie tries to surmount its own contradictions. Far from succeeding, it can only provoke new contradictions while striving to eliminate the old ones. Far from eliminating competition, the monopolies give it a more sharpened form, manifested as much in the struggle between the monopolists themselves as in the competition between the middle men, who are being ruined in the process. Far from ending international conflicts, the epoch of the Big Four, Three or Two aggravates the conflict between the dominant powers.

To eliminate Germany and Japan as independent powers, American imperialism had to permit the rise of Russia and the revival of previously eliminated countries like France and China. To fight Russia effectively, it will be obliged to return independence to Germany and Japan tomorrow. This is not a question of errors on the part of Roosevelt or of the Machiavellian nature of MacArthur, but expresses the fundamental laws of capitalism. A single world power like the United States which hypothetically might survive all others, could only leave the globe in total ruins, a prey to endless convulsions in national and colonial conflicts. “The war to end all wars,” proposed by Burnham today, like the war led by Wilson yesterday, will not lead to Pax Americana, but to general chaos.

Just as capitalism at its zenith was incapable of controlling the forces of production, so in the period of its greatest decline it is equally incapable of controlling the forces of destruction. In the period between the two stages, it has dug its own grave and created its own gravedigger—the working class. The revolutionary struggle of the latter is the struggle to give conscious direction to society, as opposed to the blind forces which are inevitably dragging the capitalist world into global war. The fate of capitalism is already decided; its knell has already sounded. But if it is not to vanish into atomic dust, its fall must give way to the world communist revolution.

For over a century, capitalism was an expression of the most brutal negation of all human relationships. Its rule has been extended solely through the mechanism of its laws of production. The state was cherished by the capitalists insofar as it interfered as little as possible with the free functioning of these laws. All servitudes and all freedoms were, respectively, imposed and realized in the one freedom of trade—the worst of human bondages.

But this very mechanism of the laws of capitalist production which permitted the bourgeoisie to deny all human relationships so long as its merchandise played a revolutionary role, compelled it to make desperate efforts to modify the operation of these laws as soon as they became an obstacle to the development of the productive forces. Born under the sign of “laissez

faire,” capitalism now clings to the most parasitic kind of regimentation. It came to power in fierce struggle against absolutism, but today seeks the establishment of the totalitarian state.

### **Totalitarian Nature of Capitalism**

Living for four decades on the narrow ledge between collapse and prosperity, terrified by constantly renewed threats of revolutionary overthrow, sensing in their balance sheets the repercussions of the disintegration of their economy, the monopolists inevitably must subject all spheres of social activity to their rigid control. The state, whose progressive disappearance the liberal attorneys of capitalism celebrated a century ago, is becoming a monstrous machine controlling men before birth and coining their corpses into gold after death. Liberal parliamentarianism and imperialist democracy are succeeded by the epoch of totalitarian dictatorship.

Through the continually expanding mechanism of the capitalist state, the monopolists subject all economic life to their rigid control. By forced trustification, state distribution of raw materials, state control of credit, and nationalization of certain inefficient branches of industry, they impose their autocratic control upon the bourgeoisie itself as well as on the petty bourgeoisie. By incorporating the trade unions in the state, by forced arbitration, the restriction or total suspension of the right to strike, company unions, corruption, spies, and terrorism, they try to bridle the labor movement where they do not succeed in destroying it altogether. Through control of the educational system and with the assistance of their obliging ally, the Church, they try to prevent the development of class consciousness in working class children and to mold them for their own sordid interests. The press, the movies, and the radio have become gigantic institutions for molding public opinion, that is, for deceiving and corrupting the public for the benefit of the monopolists. They do not stop at enrolling the doctor, the lawyer, the poet, and the scholar as wage workers. They also dictate to them their own concepts of public health, law, literature, and science, stifling cultural life under the weight of their social conservatism. Rising capitalism reduced human values to exchange values. Declining capitalism crushes them under the heavy boot of its totalitarian police.

### **The Examples of Germany and China**

The totalitarian character of present-day capitalism shows itself in finished form in the fascist dictatorship. Organizing the desperate and impoverished middle classes, and utilizing all the crude age-old prejudices, German monopoly capitalism built a barbaric state which instituted the assassination in cold blood of seven million prisoners in concentration camps. But, as the Fourth International predicted, the “war to end fascism” has itself led to the introduction of totalitarian methods in the remaining democratic countries. The inability of the British Labor Party to solve the social crisis by miserable reforms, is throwing thousands of petty bourgeois into the arms of fascist demagogues. Under the leadership of Attlee, Bevin and Morrison, the British government, so proud of its liberalism inside the country, dismisses scientists suspected of communist

sympathy. The penetration of military men in the main government posts in the United States, the close fusion of the “Sixty Families” and the “Brass Hats” in the diplomatic apparatus, the anti-Communist hysteria, the spy scares, the reactionary offensive of the church even within the trade unions—all these phenomena mark the progress of the totalitarianization of the capitalist state in the United States. What remains of bourgeois democracy in the different countries takes on an increasingly rotten and putrid form, with generals and adventurers in the service of Big Capital invited in to help give it the finishing blow.

The totalitarianization of capitalism is the clearest proof that the social contradictions are henceforth incompatible with the “normal” realization of capitalist profit. Far from signifying a new stage of capitalist stabilization, it is the most violent expression of the death agony of this system.

### **Organization of Bloody Chaos**

Beneath its leaden crust, all the forces of decomposition within capitalism are continually at work. The system reels from social explosions which are leading to an international conflagration. The “highest” stage of capitalist organization is revealed as the organization of bloody chaos, which places the communist revolution on the order of the day.

Germany and China are mirrors in which humanity can see its fate if capitalism continues to exist.

Germany today has ceased to be a political, economic and social entity. With five provinces amputated, its body is divided into four zones of occupation. Its cities are in ruins, its fields impoverished, its inhabitants have taken to the roads by the millions to escape hunger or fear. Its economic structure is broken down and its national wealth destroyed or removed from the country; its labor force is pauperized and its trade paralyzed.

Scarcely 20 years ago, in spite of its defeat in the war and the crushing of the revolution that followed, Germany still possessed the most powerful industry, the most rationalized agriculture, the most highly skilled labor, and the most extensive trade on the European continent. On three occasions the German working class clearly wanted to take the fate of the nation into its own hands. Its seizure of power would have permitted the peaceful alliance of German technique with Russia’s vast economic resources. The barriers which prevented the constructive use of its enormous productive power would have burst asunder. Devoted mainly to the satisfaction of human needs, this power would have ushered in an epoch of peace and well-being on the old continent. But on each occasion, an incompetent or treacherous labor leadership uselessly wasted the magnificent fighting energy of the German working masses. Exhausted after 15 years of futile effort, the workers were finally delivered without a struggle into the clutches of the Nazi dictatorship. The bourgeoisie then organized the powerful German economic machine for its own greedy purposes and developed it to such formidable and explosive strength that it finally buried all Germany in ruins, while overturning all Europe and sowing devastation in every country.

China has been floundering for two decades in the convulsions of an aborted revolution. To the innumerable victims of natural catastrophes are added the millions of victims of social cataclysms. Wars, civil wars, insurrections, and punitive expeditions continually ravage this vast country. The old handicraft industry is falling more and more into ruins, but modern industry fails to grow. Usury devours the harvests, but capital fails to build roads. Inflation ruins the cities, but the landless and starving peasants continue to pour into them by the thousands. The government posts are offered to the highest bidder, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek exploits the national economy as if it were a family enterprise. Ruin, stagnation and decay are to be seen everywhere.

In the crucible in which the new Chinese society took shape, under the shock of imperialist penetration, a young industrial proletariat came into being which rapidly acquired a communist consciousness. Supported by tens of millions of poor peasants wanting emancipation, the workers had a remarkable opportunity to overturn the whole rotting structure of Chinese society, and at the same time, rid the country of the domination of foreign imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie. By unifying the country and rationally utilizing its immense national resources, the Chinese revolution would have been the signal for revolt throughout the entire colonial world, and would have sounded the death-knell of imperialism in all countries. Thus humanity would have been spared the Second World War and its disastrous consequences. But the Stalinist leadership caused the defeat of the Chinese revolution, so rich in promise, and thus condemned the country to an epoch of endless convulsions, while the living forces of the nation decayed.

In Germany and China are to be seen the horrible effects of the destructive forces unleashed by declining capitalism. While it reduces the most advanced and civilized nations to a state of brutish barbarism, it also bars the backward peoples from the road of progress. During the rise of the bourgeoisie, the advanced countries mirrored the future of the backward countries. Today Germany and China mirror the fate of whole continents if society does not free itself from the yoke of the decadent bourgeoisie.

If all the decaying tendencies in contemporary society seem concentrated in Germany, all the unspent powers of resistance to declining capitalism seem to be concentrated in the United States. While the American bourgeoisie emerged immensely enriched from two world wars, the old European continent was impoverished by the wars. The ruin of the European nations resulted in an unprecedented expansion of Yankee industry, agriculture and finance. The United States holds two thirds of the world's gold and capital investments today; half of the world's commerce passes through her gates. The Yankee dollar dominates the stock markets, the Yankee air force controls the heavens, and the Yankee navy rules the seven seas. From Nanking to Paris and from Athens to Rio, governments can maintain themselves thanks only to American credits. U.S. bankers divide up Latin America, while American oil companies buy up Arabian Sheiks. American military advisers direct the armed forces in Turkey and Greenland, and American merchants mete out the rations for Rome and Tokio. The Pope and the British Labor Government, the Franco dictatorship and the Australian democracy vie with one another for Wall Street's favors and the White House blessings. American films, dances, books and canned goods determine the mode of living in all countries.

## **Perspectives of American Revolution**

But if the power and wealth of the United States are carved out of the stagnation and decline of the rest of the capitalist world, this decline in turn reacts irrevocably against the United States. The American bourgeoisie is today in danger of suffocating from its own wealth in the midst of a world dying from want. The entire planet does not suffice as a market for American industry. Wall Street is affected by every shock in every part of the world. It is difficult to believe that less than ten years ago the American bourgeoisie was still seriously discussing isolationism. Today the Italian elections, the trouble in Palestine and the strikes in Japan have become vital questions for American imperialism. Just as monopoly capitalism tends to totalitarianize the life of a nation, so the dominant imperialism increasingly strives to Americanize the world. "One world or none"—these words of a politician mean, above everything, the ultimate transformation of the world crisis into an American crisis.

American economy, politics and culture show all the signs of an approaching crisis. The terrible burden of public debt devours the nation's reserves. A raging fever of inflation, speculation, and unproductive investments, which always precedes a severe financial crisis, has gripped the nation. The decrease in profits will soon put a brake on production, which in turn will experience a decline as violent as its previous rise was unparalleled. Moreover, the crisis of the two-party system, the slow political development of the workers' movement, the growing influence of the Catholic Church, the pro-fascist tension charging the atmosphere (heightened chauvinism, anti-communism, race prejudice) forecast a complete overturn in the next ten years of the traditionally accepted concepts of American politics. Just emerging from their provincialism, the American imperialists find themselves confronted with the task of protecting capital throughout the five continents. Their enormous wealth can never compensate for their manifest lack of political experience. British imperialism was able to maintain world supremacy through economic power alone. American imperialism is today obliged to equip mercenary armies in every country. The British capitalists, in their period of ascendancy, were able to corrupt their own working class movement with crumbs from their world profits, But Yankee imperialism in the period of capitalist decline cannot establish world domination without completely militarizing its own country and housebreaking its own proletariat. That is why the world offensive of American imperialism serves, at the same time, to educate the American proletariat in world politics. The forces liberated by the American crisis will line up in direct opposition to Wall Street's imperialist policy. The American working class will find itself for the first time face to face with its communist destiny.

The American bourgeoisie, concentrating the world's most powerful industry between New York and California, has created a numerically very large and highly skilled working class. The U.S. proletariat faces a stormy development that will make up for the historic backwardness of its labor movement. Under the whip of the great crisis of 1929, the working class made a formidable leap ahead, and attained a very high level of trade union consciousness. With the magnificent rise of the CIO, the American trade union movement became the most powerful in the history of capitalism. Under the whip of the next economic crisis, the consciousness of the American workers will make a new leap forward and will acquire political consciousness. The



politicization of the American working class movement will be the most explosive and the most threatening that capitalism has known since the Russian Revolution. This development confronts American capitalism from now on. To prepare themselves for boldly taking over the leadership of this movement is the duty of the American Trotskyists. The absence of a strong reformist and Stalinist tradition provides them with an unusual opportunity. The country which today concentrates within itself the whole capitalist development will tomorrow give the revolutionary movement its highest expression. The sweep of American imperialism throughout the world will surely cause the American revolution to be the signal and the motive force of the world revolution tomorrow.

### **Role of the U S S R**

Today one country alone stands up against American imperialism. That country is the Soviet Union. Soviet wealth is shut off from U.S. imperialist control and Soviet citizens are not subject to its exploitation. The old, decaying empire of the Czars has been swept away. In its place has risen the Soviet Union, the second greatest world power.

If a historical justification of the October Revolution is still required, suffice it to compare the fate of Russia with that of China! The history of the last 30 years has demonstrated the extraordinary solidity of the new social relations resulting from this revolution as compared with the uncontrollable centrifugal forces which have accumulated in all capitalist countries. The superiority of the planned economy has been expressed not alone in terms of steel, coal and concrete, as Trotsky said, but it has also been proved on the battle field against a concentration of the entire capitalist power of Europe.

At the same time, however, history has shown that within the framework of these social relations, so superior to capitalism, degeneration and reaction have grown to a fearful extent. All spheres of Soviet life are today infected by the bureaucracy.

Its frauds, its parasitism, its embezzlements impose increasingly intolerable burdens upon collectivized production, constantly reducing the rate of accumulation of the country's basic capital funds.

As the greed and appetites of the bureaucratic upstarts grow, the social inequalities and the privileges arrogated by a tiny minority become more and more accentuated. The Bonapartist dictatorship replies to the growing social tensions with the most savage police terror, chaining the workers to the factories, crushing peasant resistance in blood, and liquidating considerable layers of the bureaucracy itself by wholesale purges.

Amid the misery and degradation of the masses, the bureaucracy has revived all the customs the revolution had abolished. Where the October Revolution had introduced a Spartan equality, a revolutionary devotion and sacrifice for the benefit of the community, the Soviet bureaucracy has installed titles, uniforms, gold braid and the sordid spirit of greed.

In place of proletarian internationalism it has substituted an infamous mixture of Great Russian nationalism and mystical Pan-Slavism. The terrible consequences of the defeats of the world proletariat thus manifest themselves in Russia as well.

The totalitarianization of capitalism and the totalitarian dictatorship of Stalinism are not identical things. They have different material foundations and different class character. But they are two symmetrical expressions of the price that humanity is paying for the delay of the international communist revolution.

The theory of “socialism in one country” has cruelly revenged itself on Stalin. The petty bourgeois conservatism of the Soviet bureaucracy first led it to strangle the revolution in Europe in return for a fleeting *modus vivendi* with the world bourgeoisie. Then, with implacable logic, the bureaucracy found itself extending its domination beyond Russia’s frontiers, in order to find a temporary solution to its economic difficulties and an equally fleeting protection against imperialist encirclement.

The policies pursued by the bureaucracy in the countries under its control serve to reveal its contradictory nature. Unable to share its privileges with the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy eliminates the capitalists from control of the government and the economy. The measures adopted in these countries, the nationalizations, the agrarian reforms, are hardly dictated by a love for socialism, but rather by the bureaucracy’s desire to consolidate its exclusive control over the economic and political life of the buffer countries in order to secure its own privileges. Once it attains its ends, it invariably turns upon the masses, curbing their movements and organizations and establishing absolute control over them.

After seizing part of the key industries in the buffer countries, and after promoting the nationalization of big business, the Kremlin seeks to appropriate the maximum share of each country’s resources for its own needs, without regard for the interests of the masses. When it encounters a stiffening resistance from the national bourgeoisies, it resorts to a limited mobilization of the masses and full scale police action in order to bring them to heel.

The political regimes of these countries thus assume a Bonapartist form, delivering blows on the right, against the weakening resistance of the bourgeoisie, and blows on the left, against the hesitant efforts of the workers to defend their living standards and elementary democratic rights.

Viewing the results of the bureaucracy’s expansion, some short-sighted petty bourgeois “theoreticians,” who have long ago lost all faith in the proletarian revolution, marvel at the “successes” of “Stalinist realism.” “Haven’t the nationalizations been extended to all of Eastern Europe?” they say.

Others, mortally frightened by the “increasing strength” of Stalinism, see in it the representative of a new monstrous exploiting society headed for world domination. The hysteria of both sides is strangely in harmony with Stalinist propaganda, the product of the most vulgar impressionism.

## **Crimes of the Bureaucracy**

Stalin's "socialist conquests" in Eastern Europe were in reality conceded to him at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. In exchange for these "conquests" Stalin betrayed the August 1942 uprising in India, ordered the disarming of the partisans in Greece, delivered the mass movement in France to de Gaulle, returned the tottering bourgeoisie to power in all the countries of Western Europe and helped crush the German proletariat.

By his infamous practices of dismantling, looting, deportation and terror, Stalin succeeded in arousing even within the world labor movement, deep feelings of hostility toward the Soviet Union such as Hitler had never been able to produce. This is the impressive balance sheet of Stalinist "victories."

On a far larger scale, Stalin's policy is thus leading the USSR into the same impasse as in 1939. Incapable of basing itself on the revolutionary fighting spirit of the masses, the bureaucracy resorts to expansionism and power politics. Thereby it only aggravates the general conditions which are precipitating an inevitable test of strength with imperialism; thereby it only lends aid to the unification of imperialist forces under Washington's banner.

Stalin has utilized the breathing spell he gained for the most abominable crimes. Whatever may be his further successes, he is rushing headlong to his ruin.

As long as it remains locked in the dilemma of choosing between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism; as long as it does not rise to the level of struggle for the socialist revolution, the entire world will face not the perspective of reconstruction and progress but, on the contrary, that of accelerated disintegration and decay.

For the last four decades, Europe's history has been the history of the revolt of the productive forces against the boundaries of national states. The two world wars have been nothing else but a desperate effort of the imperialist powers to "organize" this revolt for their own benefit.

French imperialism in 1918 possessed neither the industrial power nor the political vitality necessary to grasp this organization in its own hands. Through the Versailles system, it "organized" Europe by means of traditional diplomacy: peace treaties, military alliances and financial credits. At the first economic disaster, this system collapsed without leaving a trace.

Then German imperialism, resting upon a superior technology and productive capacity, launched the Second World War with the aim of organizing the old continent for its own needs, not only politically but also militarily and economically. In spite of its overwhelming military successes, the "New European Order" collapsed even more quickly than the Versailles system before it. Its organization was only a gigantic enterprise for pillage and destruction, draining all the economic resources of the people to feed its insatiable war machine.

Today American imperialism, driven by the implacable logic of its dominant position, strives in its own way to resolve the old problem: The political and economic methods which it employs (the Marshall Plan and the Western Bloc) seem to be of a different nature from those of the other two powers. Instead of taking away, Yankee imperialism appears to be giving. In place of a

society of ruined satellites, it seems to want to form a corporation of grateful debtors. That is why crafty adventurers like Churchill and petty bourgeois like Guy Mollet are gathered together under the “Made in USA” slogan of the “United States of Europe,” hoping that American manna will permit them to preserve the memory of old Europe for a while longer.

In reality, the organization of Europe under the aegis of Washington does not pursue aims fundamentally different from those of French and German imperialisms and it will inevitably collapse for similar reasons. To be sure, Yankee imperialism wants to abolish barriers, put finances in order, and stabilize the currencies. But solely in order to “organize” the purchasing power of its clients and the solvency of its debtors. At the same time it is forced to “organize” the contraction of their markets and the increase of their debts. No conferences can save it from the contradictions inherent in this policy. The Europe of the Marshall Plan, like the Europe of Versailles and that of Hitler, can only be an impotent and pauperized Europe.

Threatened with strangulation if its credit is cut off, the European bourgeoisie accepts all American conditions today, just as in 1940 it accepted the ridiculous decrees of Hitler and the Wehrmacht. But the very day the American crisis breaks out and the flow of dollars is shut off, every bourgeoisie will seek desperately for its own salvation and the “unions” will dissolve in even less time than it took to build them.

Just as the unity of the modern nation came into being through the instrumentality of a victorious revolutionary class, so the unity of the continent, now on the order of the day because of the high level of the technology, can be realized only as the fruit of a triumphant new social revolution. Just as it was necessary to sweep away absolutism and all vestiges of semi-feudalism in order to make France one and indivisible, so will it be necessary to sweep out the bourgeois state and its profit system in order to create a unified, socialist Europe.

### **For A Socialist United States of Europe**

It is now a question of drawing up a unified plan for the reconstruction of the old continent which will bring together Silesian coal, Lorraine ore, Catalan tin and Roumanian oil on a rational basis. It is a question of linking up the steel mills of the Ruhr with Czech building machinery and the Swiss precision instrument industry in a unified effort to provide all of Europe with the most modern technique. It is necessary to electrify the Polish countryside, to irrigate southern Italy and to rationalize French agriculture so that bread will not be lacking in Vienna, Berlin or Madrid.

This plan must be drawn up with the aim of satisfying the needs of the masses, and not for the construction of a new war machine. It is necessary not only to abolish capitalist profit, but also the parasitic bureaucracies and the crushing burden of the over-expanded state apparatus. It is necessary to rely upon the creative power of the masses, not compel them by force of hunger nor terrorize them with machine guns. That is why the only plan for Europe which will really organize production for the general welfare and abolish misery, looting, and debt, is a plan elaborated, executed and tested by the masses themselves, organized into thousands of workers’

councils covering the whole continent. That is why the unity of Europe is inconceivable without the actual exercise of power by the workers and poor peasants.

A Europe thus unified by the revolutionary action of the proletariat will permit all nationalities the freest development of their respective cultures. With a single blow it will free all colonial peoples and will thus open up a historic epoch of free collaboration between continents. It will hasten the constructive use of atomic energy and will show the working masses of the Soviet Union and the United States a positive alternative to the armament race which can end only in war. It will offer the proletariat of these two countries a concrete plan for the harmonious development of world economy, and will undermine by virtue of experience alone, the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

That is why the Fourth International today resolutely counterposes the program of the Socialist United States of Europe to the Marshall Plan, as well as to the “defense of the national industry,” and to all the quack remedies with which the desperate bourgeoisie, the demoralized petty bourgeoisie, and the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy strive vainly to cure the foul plagues besetting European economy and politics.

If the crumbling of the old imperialist powers encourages the outbreak of liberation movements in the colonies, the development of colonial revolutions accelerates in its turn the decomposition of the imperialist systems and of the bourgeois “democracy” which rests upon them. The tremendous convulsions provoked by the Second World War, the accelerated industrialization of Manchuria, India and the Middle East, the irreparable collapse of the prestige of the “master races,” the anguish and the maddening hunger of millions of coolies are shattering the structure of colonial exploitation which for four centuries has fed the capitalist wealth and progress of Europe by the frenzied exploitation of three-fourths of humanity.

With the foundations of their own metropolitan society shaken by the beginnings of colonial revolution, the old imperialist powers tend to change the form of their domination in order to maintain its essential content, that is, their super profits and strategic control. “Trusteeships,” “equality within the framework of the French or Netherlands Union,” the grant of dominion status, and even the proclamation of the independence of Iraq or Burma, the partition of Palestine and India represent merely successive lines of retreat by imperialist reaction in the colonies. It continues to hold the peoples in its power by a thousand bonds of economic and military servitude. In order to demonstrate in action how their traditional civilizing role is maintained under the new “liberal” form, the imperialist exploiters engage in brutal repressions (Viet Nam) or in cynical provocations (“police action” in Indonesia, the Jewish-Arab struggle, etc.). Colonialism’s new road, abandoning direct domination, is marked with murders, famine and bloody chaos as was the road of its original penetration.

In this period of the disintegration of the colonial systems, the native bourgeoisie, marked from birth by the stigma of the decaying system, strives for a favorable partnership with imperialism. Functioning today as an agent of its imperialist masters, it comes into continual collision with the colonial masses, struggling to defend their vital interests. It finds itself torn between the desire to secure new privileges and the fear of losing the old ones. That is what gives



its actions a particularly rapacious as well as abject character. Crawling before the corrupt royal clique and periodically selling out their country to the London bankers, the Egyptian bourgeoisie dreams at the same time of annexing the Sudan, Libya, and even Eritrea. Capitulating miserably to the princes and the Moslem landowners, the Indian bourgeoisie at the same time dreams of conquering the markets of the Far East.

### **Upheavals in the Colonies**

Amid the shocks convulsing the colonial empires, American imperialism alone has been able to realize profits without risks. The colonial bourgeoisies loosen their ties with the mother countries only to fall under the domination of Yankee imperialism. But at the same time Washington rightly fears the inevitable social catastrophes within the mother countries which the final collapse of their colonial empires will precipitate. The American bourgeoisie knows it is incapable of replacing in time the cadres of the colonial apparatus while at the same time maintaining the governments of old Europe.

Utilizing in turn economic extortion, military pressure, and the organs of the United Nations, American imperialism strives to promote the penetration of its capital at the same time that it utilizes the native bourgeoisie to crush the uprising of the masses and supports the attempts of the imperialists to maintain the framework of their old empires. In the case of Indonesia and of the Sudan, American imperialism has consciously played the role of the defender of colonialism. It understands better than anyone that imperialist domination over the world today is indivisible, and that any local collapse risks becoming the point of departure for the collapse of the entire system.

Utterly worthless are the arguments of all philistines who refuse to support the liberation movements of the colonies under the pretext that their independence would mean their submission to American imperialism or the Soviet bureaucracy. The sacred duty of the proletariat of all the mother countries is to support unconditionally all movements of revolt in the colonies. It is necessary to utilize every opportunity to publicly denounce the crimes committed daily by the "democrats" in the insurgent countries, to call upon the workers to boycott military expeditions and wars of conquest, to conduct in the imperialist army intelligent propaganda for fraternization with the colonial masses, and to force the bourgeoisie to cease hostilities and reprisals.

The complete abandonment by imperialism of all its colonial positions can come only as the result of a revolutionary struggle unfolding simultaneously in the mother countries and in the colonies. The Fourth International is able to state that many of its sections (France, Holland, Great Britain) are the only organizations of the working class to carry on such agitation today. At the same time, the Fourth International has demonstrated that the revolutionists in the mother countries are ready to assist unreservedly the workers and advanced students of the colonial countries to build their own Bolshevik organizations in their own countries.

During the so-called “war against fascism,” the Stalinist parties buried the struggle for the independence of the colonies. At the present stage, their reversal of policy has brought them to a complete capitulation before petty bourgeois nationalism. The sections of the Fourth international, on the contrary, have always pursued in the colonial countries everywhere an intransigent struggle against colonial oppression while maintaining the complete organizational, political and ideological independence of the colonial proletariat from its own bourgeoisie. In India, in Viet Nam, in Egypt the Trotskyists are to be found in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist masses. For the same reason they are the only consistent defenders of the interests of the colonial workers. Their policy is inspired by the theory of the permanent revolution, tested by four decades of revolutionary struggles.

Boldly making the demands of the national bourgeois revolution its own, the proletariat must place itself at the head of all the exploited masses and lead them in the struggle to solve the agrarian question, drive out the imperialists, expropriate foreign capital, and conquer revolutionary political democracy. It will be able to bring this struggle to a successful conclusion only provided it is able to eliminate its own “national” exploiters, expropriate native capital, and pass over to socialist planning by basing itself on working class power.

### **Defend the Colonial Revolutions**

The revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat constitutes the strategic goal of the Fourth International both in the colonial countries as well as in the mother countries. In default of this conquest or the extension of the revolution on an international scale, the various cliques, such as the bourgeois parties in India, the petty bourgeois groups in Indonesia, and the Stalinists in Viet Nam, who have seized the leadership of the movement and are trying to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the masses, can only lead the colonial revolutions into the impasse of impotent guerilla warfare or to rotten compromises with imperialism.

The rise of the working class movement in the period of ascending capitalism was limited almost exclusively to Europe. Lenin was the first to understand the vital importance of the colonial countries in the strategy of the world proletarian revolution. But long before the task of building revolutionary parties in the colonies could be completed by the Third International, the Stalinist degeneration of their leadership transformed them into bureaucratic machines, and into a serious obstacle to the communist development of the colonial workers.

Upon the Fourth International now falls the task of building the first genuine revolutionary working class parties in the colonial countries. It can fulfill this task—similar to the one which the Communist Manifesto proclaimed for Europe—by relying on the whole past experience of the movement. It must spare the colonial proletariat the tragic defeats which the European workers were unable to avoid. That is why the Fourth International is the first organization to boldly proclaim the foremost role of the colonial countries in the world revolutionary struggle. That is why it is the first International to actually enlist within its leadership the most qualified members of the young colonial proletariat. That is also why its ideas are spreading today with astonishing rapidity, beyond the iron curtains, across the jungles and the oceans, from North

Africa to Japan, from Korea to Egypt. Recording today its first successes among these three-fourths of humanity—the most exploited section of mankind—the Fourth International is preparing upon this ground, which still knows no working class defeats, the most sweeping overturns that history has known.

## **Wall Street in Latin America**

For four centuries, the immense territories of Latin America have been the favorite prey of international brigands, serving as a most important source of their wealth. After the Spain of the conquistadors, came England of the Manchester era to uncover a gold mine in the shape of unlimited markets, cheap sources of foods and raw materials. Next came American imperialism—to flood the continent with its agents, bankers, oil prospectors, and rubber planters. After eliminating its German and Japanese competitors and compelling its English partner to confine itself to Argentina, Yankee imperialism rules today as absolute master over the Latin American peoples. Through “Good Neighbor” and “Western hemisphere Defense” conferences, and ‘by standardizing armaments and cleverly distributing credits, Wall Street and the State Department play, as best suits their interests, with semi-dictators (as in Brazil) or pure “democrats” (as in Chile). Through their diplomatic agents and AFL labor flunkies, they brutally intervene in the native labor movement, buying up wholesale, journalists, deputies and statesmen, organizing communist witch hunts and forcibly splitting the trade unions.

Stifling within narrow national boundaries which block the establishment of a domestic market, lacking an adequate demographic base, tied to the landowners through large-scale foreign trade and to foreign capital through the banks, the miserable and belated Latin American bourgeoisie is incapable of solving any problem whatsoever. They have not been able to integrate into the orbit of capitalist production the huge Indian and Negro communities which dot the entire continent like so many islands of backwardness. They have been unable to tear the different countries away from the bondage of single-crop production, leaving each country’s economy vulnerable to severe shocks from world economic crises. They have not succeeded in seriously resisting imperialism but have for a century furnished imperialism, through the various native political cliques, with countless servile agents. They have not succeeded in uniting into one single Latin American nation all these different countries which speak the same language, whose economies are interdependent, whose existing divisions and mutual quarrels serve only to enslave peoples and strengthen international capitalism.

In every Latin American country the specific weight of the proletariat surpasses by far that of the native bourgeoisie. Eking out their existence, often under the most intolerable conditions, as among the miners and agricultural workers, these workers periodically engage in revolutionary movements—fierce and desperate in their violence. Terrified by the elemental power of these mass movements, the bourgeoisie finds itself again and again compelled to establish dictatorial regimes, which follow in the wake of democratic interludes (Cardenas, APRA, Bettancourt). In the course of the latter, the native bourgeoisie frequently exploits the working class movement in order to blackmail and exert pressure on foreign imperialism. Most often the state in Latin

America assumes a Bonapartist form of a peculiar type, tacking and veering between this weak, heterogeneous but rapacious bourgeoisie, foreign imperialism, and a wide layer of the petty bourgeoisie on the one side, and the young proletariat, which grows in numbers and confidence on the other.

It is upon this young Latin American proletariat that falls the task of solving the historic problems which the bourgeoisie has failed to solve.

The Bolivian revolution, the great strikes in Chile and Brazil, the upsurge of the labor movement in Venezuela, the recent bloody days in Bogota are proof that the working masses of Latin America are no longer willing to remain the eternal victims of capitalist hucksters. Advancing its candidacy for power, the Latin American proletariat will assume the leadership of each national anti-imperialist movement and—around its program of national and social emancipation—will unite the impoverished city poor as well as the peasants who are eager to free themselves from the big landowners. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in every given country will learn in every social crisis, and in every conflict between the masses and imperialism, to advance boldly the program of the Socialist United States of Latin America. It is the duty of the proletariat in the U.S. to assist their Latin American brothers with all the forces at their command. At the very moment when Yankee imperialism is reaching out for world domination, the base of its power in Latin America will be found shattered. Before the workers in the United States engage it in decisive battles at home, Yankee imperialism will receive the most unexpected blows from the workers south of the Rio Grande.

### **“The Third Force”**

If humanity is still beset by the havoc and terror unleashed by the explosion of the productive forces, if mankind has not yet solved its tasks, the fault does not lie with the workers. They have launched attack after attack on the old system of production. They have long furnished the most eloquent proofs of devotion, sacrifice, abnegation and initiative. The responsibility does rest on the treacherous leadership of the working class, and solely on them.

To blame was—and is—the Social Democracy. It was the Social Democrats who in 1914 deserted to the service of the bourgeoisie; and in 1918 they assured the ruin of the German revolution; and ever since, they have proved themselves to be, in the words of Leon Blum, the “loyal managers” of capitalism. Equally to blame is Stalinism. After causing the disintegration of the parties of the Third International, Stalinism, by a whole series of turns has led these parties to adopt the methods of class collaboration, sometimes cruder, sometimes more refined, but at all times as pernicious and perfidious as the class collaboration methods of the Social Democracy.

And now today, both of these movements, under the pretext of avoiding the “unnecessary overhead expenses” of the proletarian revolution, adopt, each in its own way, the reformist solutions of the “Third Force” and of the “New Democracy.” These “solutions” can lead the working masses only to new catastrophes.

Caught in a vise between the pressure of world imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the sorry heroes of the Social Democracy distinguish themselves by all the traditional follies of the enraged petty bourgeois. In brief, their folly expresses itself in their trying to “delimit” themselves from the two world powers who are today pitted against each other.

As a matter of fact, speeches and articles backing a “Third Force” are merely a smoke screen to cover up the actual participation of the reformist chieftains in one or the other of the contending camps. The Mochs and the Van Ackers break strikes for the benefit of the corporation owners; the Fierlingers and the Cierankievichs are the accomplices of the Stalinists in suppressing what still remains of the workers’ rights. This is the fundamental contradiction in the “Third Force.” It has given birth to the “Information Committee” of the Socialist parties. Today both Washington and Moscow have “their own” socialists just as the monarchs of old used to have “their own” Jesuits, each medieval prince “his own” jesters and so on.

Even as war today tends to assume a more and more totalitarian form, just so the process of preparing for war increasingly involves the establishment of absolute control over the labor movement. American imperialism pursues its aims by leaning on both the Pope and the Social Democracy. Under its magnanimous wing, there also “regroup” themselves all the invalids of the labor movement, united by their blind fear of Stalin and by their acceptance of Yankee domination as the “lesser evil.” While Washington’s ideological front is thus reinforced by petty-bourgeois panic, specialists far less fastidious organize the Marshall Plan propaganda; cause the “reds” to be driven out of the factories and public administration; destroy the unity of trade unions.

The Social Democracy, however, is able to accomplish its tasks only because the far greater crimes of the Stalinists periodically drive new layers of the working class in its direction. Compared with Stalinist bureaucratism and corruption, the reformist betrayers by no means represent a more “democratic” variety. They are merely a breed of bureaucrats who are very closely integrated in the apparatus of their respective national capitalists.

As in 1919, the Social Democratic leaders are trying today to divert the instinctively revolutionary upsurge of the masses with the myth of “economic democracy.” Actively supported this time by the Stalinist chieftains, they preach to the workers that there is no need for revolution so long as they are able to occupy such posts as that of Minister of Economic Affairs, so long as they nationalize — with full indemnities — the coal mines, establish labor-management committees, and introduce other reforms by legal means. Like Hilferding who wanted to couple the Soviets with the German bourgeois constitution, the Bevins and the Morrisons are hailing the progress of “socialist” economy within the framework of the British Empire.

After World War I capitalism was still able in certain historically favored countries to grant the workers the forty-eight hour week and other social legislation as a means of diverting them from the revolutionary path. Today the champions of “economic democracy” undertake to compel the workers to accept the cynical super-exploitation on which the whole economic recovery of Europe now rests. The policy of the British Labor Government is the clearest



expression of the present-day mission of the labor bureaucracy, namely, to permit the workers to rebuild with their sweat the capital that had been previously destroyed by shedding their blood.

The shameful policy of the reformist leaders to integrate themselves completely in the campaign of reconstruction and to assist in the material and ideological rearmament of Big Capital can only continue to provoke discontent and revolt on the part of their socialist proletarian following, especially among the youth.

Stalinism is incapable of attracting those layers of workers who are today searching for a new pole of attraction. The parties of the Fourth International, firmly based on their program—the only one that offers a new road to the younger generation of workers—seek to approach these currents which are detaching themselves from the Social Democracy, without prejudice or sectarianism. By working closely together and by patient comradely education, they will guide them through their own experiences to surmount all the contradictions of centrism and embrace the organization and political principles of Bolshevism-Leninism.

### **‘The New Democracy’**

The powerful revolutionary wave which erupted simultaneously in Europe and Asia with the end of World War 11 raised the Stalinist parties to the peak of their power. As in all previous revolutionary movements, the masses surged in great numbers to the parties which, by their tradition, their past activity, and their cadres, were solidly rooted in their class, and most closely corresponded to the level of radicalization among wide layers of the working class. Transformed by a single stroke into government parties in fifteen countries, the Stalinist organizations are just as responsible for the liquidation of this first post-war revolutionary wave as were the parties of the Social Democracy for the liquidation of the revolutionary movements after 1918. The reformist betrayal of those days was carried out in the name of “Economic Democracy”; the Stalinist betrayal of 1945, in the name of “the New Democracy.”

The defense of the “bastions” conquered within the framework of imperialist democracy—in reality, the defense of the privileges of the labor bureaucracy—that is the immediate aim in the name of which the old-line reformists abandoned the historic goal of the proletariat. The defense of the “Russian bastion” — in reality, the defense of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy—that is the aim in the name of which Stalinism abandoned the world communist revolution. But experience invariably proves that to abandon the final goal is to inescapably end by losing the very ‘bastions’ which are allegedly being defended. Involved here is not a lack of ‘understanding’ of these self-evident lessons of history on the part of the leaders. What is involved is rather the defense of their own special interests. Just as it is the function of reformism to reconcile the existence of the labor bureaucracy with the existing national bourgeoisie, so, too, it is the function of the Stalinist bureaucracy to reconcile the existing Soviet bureaucracy with the existence of world imperialism.

The practice of Soviet expansion, gives the theory of the “New Democracy” a semblance of justification for all the crimes committed by the Kremlin in the countries which it dominates. The

application of the theory of the ‘New Democracy’ to the countries outside the Soviet sphere of influence, serves only to complete its basic function: the open abandonment of the Leninist strategy of the conquest of power and its replacement by a policy of compromises or adventures, for seizing the “levers of power in the bourgeois state.” All this is an open expression of the attempt to reduce the world proletariat to the status of a pawn in the maneuvers of Soviet diplomacy, of its army, of its police-spy system, completely in the spirit of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

## **The Stalinist Traitors**

On the basis of this general orientation, the Stalinist parties are less capable than ever of arriving at a consistent political line. As in the past, their tactics fluctuate from the lowest brand of opportunism to the other extreme of the most frightful adventurism, frequently combining the features of both extremes. Yesterday the Comintern is dissolved; today the Comintern is reconstituted. Yesterday they called for “Production First”; today the call for sabotage of the Marshall Plan. Yesterday they denounced strikes as the “weapons of the trusts”; today they bureaucratically incite strike actions. All these shifts and turns, which so disorient and stupefy the working class, express one and the same desire of the Stalinist leaders—to reach a favorable compromise with world imperialism. They also express a supreme contempt for the workers, for their feelings, for their interests, for their integrity.

The power of Stalinism in the working class is a product of the material power of its apparatus combined with the revolutionary tradition of the past which it still represents in the eyes of the broad masses. As Engels pointed out a century ago, tradition represents one of the greatest forces for inertia in history. To wrest from Stalinism the leadership of the working class, it is necessary to begin where the Social Democracy and the Communist Party left off. It is necessary to build powerful workers’ organizations. It is necessary to educate a new generation of revolutionary worker cadres, who through numerous successive experiences in struggle, will succeed in rooting themselves in the working class and gaining its respect and confidence. It is necessary to build a genuine party which, through ever wider activities, will eventually appear in all mass movements as the real alternative to the bankrupt leaderships. By relying firmly on its revolutionary program, by orienting itself toward the most exploited layers of society, by maintaining complete confidence in the profoundly revolutionary combat power of the proletariat—that is how the Fourth International will finally destroy the obstacle of Stalinism within the working class movement.

For thirty years humanity has paid for the delay of communist revolutions with a terrible crisis—wars, counter-revolutions, totalitarian dictatorships, nations decimated, civilization dragged into decadence. But this entire tragic period does not at all express any congenital incapacity of the proletariat to become conscious of its historical mission. On the contrary, from the civil war in Russia up to the Spanish civil war, from the insurrection of Canton to that of Athens, millions of workers have shown in action an enthusiasm, combativeness and revolutionary devotion without equal in history.

All the qualities rising from the working class's specific function in capitalist society—its capacity for suddenly displaying enormous creative energy, its keen sense of voluntary discipline, its profound selflessness, which is the clearest expression of its own deepest historic interests, are already inscribed, in the most moving pages of the history of the Twentieth Century. The analyses and forecasts of the Communist Manifesto on this subject have not alone been confirmed; they have become established as the major reality of our times.

### **The Crisis of Leadership**

But the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat is today confronted by a bourgeois society which, with every step of its decline, exhibits a new defensive reflex characteristic of classes condemned to disappear. Confronted by the army, police, spies, scabs, press, radio, school and church, which constitute so many ramparts around the threatened citadels of capital, the spontaneous but uncoordinated attacks of the proletariat are inevitably condemned to bloody defeat. Against the centralized and scientifically organized leadership of the counter-revolution, which for decades has directed all capitalist countries whatever their political regime, the proletariat cannot conquer unless in its turn it selects an even more qualified leadership: that of its class party. The crisis of humanity is today the crisis of revolutionary leadership, for along with this instinctively revolutionary movement of the proletariat there remains the openly counter-revolutionary character of its leadership.

That in three decades the proletariat has been unable to select an adequate world leadership—a task which the young European bourgeoisie, infinitely more educated and better prepared, was able in its time to achieve only after two centuries of groping—can bewilder only those who have lost all sense of proportion in appraising history. Disposing of incomparable wealth and experience, the bourgeoisie succeeded, better than preceding ruling classes, in making its own ideology and morality into the dominant ideology and morality of the epoch.

In the ascending period of capitalism, successive working class leaderships gradually won some small reforms for the proletariat and substantial privileges for themselves. But one after another they rose above their own class and thus became the principal agents for the transmission of bourgeois ideology into the workers' movement. It was only when the decline of capitalism precipitated the first powerful revolutionary waves in Europe and Asia that the material conditions for selecting a genuine revolutionary leadership, free from the ideological influence of the ruling class, were established. But, because of the lack of an adequate leadership, these first struggles were inevitably condemned to defeat. Selection of the revolutionary leadership has been proceeding since then under the burden of these defeats. The Russian Bolshevik Party, the only one which succeeded in leading the workers to the conquest of power, has itself become the first victim of the lack of a genuine Bolshevik international. To build such an organization in the extremely difficult conditions of a period of decline—that is the historical mission of the Fourth International.

## **A World Movement and an International Leadership**

The world general staff of the proletariat must assimilate in its entirety the program of communist revolution. It must enrich this program with a full revolutionary experience which makes it capable of meeting all sudden turns in the situation. It must inculcate this program and experience into great working masses by means of an organization which is closely linked to the working class. These three tasks were able to be accomplished only with the greatest difficulty in the period in which the Fourth International was born.

The program of revolution is assimilated only in the course of mass struggles. Political experience is acquired only in the course of an entire historical period of multiple activities. The workers' organization can be built only by uninterrupted work within the factories and the workers' neighborhoods. But the conditions of declining capitalism shatter again and again with an incredible brutality, the continuity of revolutionary ideas, generations and organizations. That is why the selection of a genuine world leadership proves so long and so arduous a task. That is why it must be undertaken consciously and must be consciously planned and executed.

The dialectic of history is such that the objective conditions which make so difficult the building of a world party of socialist revolution are likewise the sole conditions which make its construction possible. Thanks to the epoch in which it was formed, the Fourth International is free from reformist illusions, from parliamentary cretinism, from fatalism, from adventurism, from naive faith which becomes transformed into disillusioned pessimism—in short, from so many of those feelings and ideas which formed and shattered preceding generations of revolutionists.

The Fourth International has surmounted the contradictions between the national origin of working class militants and the world mission of the proletarian movement; it is the first organization which has begun to produce a genuine international leadership. The Fourth International is the first world organization of the proletariat which combines a complete revolutionary program with the experience gained by past revolutionary movements. That is why the proletarian defeats of the past will appear on the historical scale as the inevitable conditions for the formation of a scientific technique of revolution just as epidemics were the necessary conditions for the development of a scientific technique for cures. That is why the tragic period in which we are living will prove with the passage of time to be nothing but a pause of history in order to forge an adequate tool for the emancipation of humanity.

The cadres of the Fourth International gain the experience necessary for becoming the real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat only by indefatigable and organized participation in all the struggles and all the movements of the masses, the real school of strategy in the class struggle. For this participation, the Fourth International finds itself armed with its Transitional Program, the sum of the teachings of all past workers' struggles.

The activity of the Fourth International has as its first objective to express clearly and consciously the deep but confused aspirations of the exploited masses. If the latter rise against the crimes of inflation or unemployment if the burdens of wars or of national oppression seem unbearable to them, if they demand peace, more bread or more freedom, the Fourth International

is at their side, stimulating their critical spirit, sharpening their discontent onto the road of socialist consciousness, educating, organizing and directing the exploited so that they will pass over from latent revolt against the effects of the capitalist regime to open revolt against the cause of their troubles: capitalism in decay.

Confronted by each anxiety or each demand of the masses, the Fourth International launches appropriate slogans to mobilize them with the aim of solving the problems which agitate them. That is why the Fourth International with all its might combats skepticism, fatalism and passivity as the worst brakes upon the development of class consciousness in the proletariat. That is why it explains over and over again that all decisions upon vital questions which are posed before the working class depend in the last analysis on the clash of forces between the classes, in which the proletariat can be the victor in the factory as well as on the street.

Capitalism can no longer live save by increasing the burden of poverty which is crushing the laboring masses. Whether deflation and inflation; whether in the policy on prices and the policy on taxes; whether campaigns for export and restrictions on consumption; whether insufficient food and overproduction—in all countries, under a thousand different succeeding forms, there is but one and the same attack on the buying power of the masses. Guaranty of a minimum living wage, based on the consumption needs of workers' families, through the system of a sliding scale of wages, salaries, unemployment compensation, pensions and social insurance—such is the immediate objective that the sections of the Fourth International propose for the workers' struggles. The examples of Japan, Korea, Italy, France and the United States, clearly demonstrate that this slogan has already been assimilated by millions of workers who have inaugurated tremendous strikes to bring it about.

In the midst of general under-consumption among three-fourths of humanity, there already appear everywhere the signs of capitalist glut. Today only a secondary threat, tomorrow unemployment will bear down as the principal burden upon the proletariat. Constantly warning the masses of the crisis which is inevitably approaching, the Fourth International calls the workers to the struggle for the forced re-opening of shut-down plants and for restoring production in them under workers' control; for the progressive decrease in working hours without reduction in take-home pay; for prevention of lay-off s and the sharing of available work among all workers for whom a minimum living wage will remain guaranteed.

### **For Workers' Control**

Questions of prices, wages, profits, business volume and volume of employment are, however, dependent on the entire economic life of the country. If the workers want to attack the problem of buying power and of full employment in an effective way, they cannot leave the task of determining the cost of living index or the rate of employment and unemployment to the bosses or their government. That is why none of the preceding slogans have value unless they are tied up with workers' control. The sections of the Fourth International overlook no opportunity for awakening the workers' distrust regarding the good faith and capacity of the capitalists and their State. The workers must be able to see the books, so they may observe in living form how



capitalist economy really functions and may get a good look at the whole mechanism of exploitation, at the sordid parasitism and wastefulness which are the explanation of their own privations. Only on this condition does the struggle for immediate economic objectives become in effect, a bridge towards the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat against capitalism.

After the experience of the great economic crisis, of mass unemployment, of the black market, the great mass of workers understands today that no degree of economic security is compatible with the preservation of private property in the means of production. The domination of the economy of all nations by a limited group of monopolists has now become common knowledge. However, in the face of the experiments with bourgeois nationalizations, especially those of England and France, it is necessary to explain again that the revolutionary demand for expropriation of the banks and key industries is fundamentally different from the miserable reformist patching up of decaying capitalism, To demand that nationalizations take place without any compensation except to small stockholders; to demand workers' control in the nationalized enterprises; to demand the grouping of all expropriated industries within the framework of a reconstruction plan set up and executed by workers' committees; and to tie up the struggle for these nationalizations with the struggle for the Workers and Farmers Government—in that way we counterpose the program for the communist and revolutionary transformation of society to the tenacious will of the bourgeoisie to preserve its rule under a modified form.

### **Unity of the Laboring Masses**

The epoch of decaying capitalism is likewise the epoch of the continuous pauperization of the middle classes. Carefully distinguishing between the exploiting strata and the exploited strata of the urban and peasant bourgeoisie, the sections of the Fourth International launch slogans suited to uniting the laboring masses in action against big capital. In contrast with the Stalinist and reformist parties—for whom “alliance” with the middle classes is a cheap pretext for abandoning the revolutionary proletarian program in order to ally themselves with leaders and parties who actually betray the interests of the petty bourgeoisie—the sections of the Fourth International seek support in the deep discontent of the hardest-hit middle strata (functionaries at starvation salaries, landless farmers, artisans crushed by taxes, ruined small businessmen, etc.), in order to guide their desire for a social overturn along the socialist road. This is the surest way of avoiding, in countries like Italy, Japan or France, the development of new semi-fascist organizations supporting themselves on the despair of the middle classes.

All economic, trade union, and social questions are today political questions. Everything that the proletariat can force out of the boss class through the strike is systematically taken from it by the government, which, whatever may be its form, remains the real administrative council of the ruling class. That is why we counterpose the WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT to any bourgeois government, whether it be an outright reactionary one, or a coalition government of “working class” leaders with bourgeois parties.

## **For the Proletarian State**

To the unflagging propaganda for this slogan we add, in periods of violent governmental crises or generalized battles of the working class, a precise agitation addressed to the parties which claim to be working class and in which the masses still have confidence. To these parties the Fourth International launches the appeal: “BREAK WITH THE CAPITALISTS! TAKE ALL THE POWER !“ in order to apply a genuine workers’ program with the support of the mobilized masses and under their control.

But it is not enough that the “workers” parties be alone in the government for the government to be a true workers government. There must also be a genuinely anti-capitalist program, a revolutionary mobilization of the masses, overflowing the framework of bourgeois legality. Therein is posed the question of the State. The labor ministers of Great Britain, Scandinavia or Australia have only the illusion of power. The real power remains in the hands of the administrative bureaucracy at the orders of the all-powerful monopolists. The governments change, but the police, generals, judges and high functionaries, the entire bureaucracy in the service of the bourgeoisie, remains the same. This obstacle can be broken only by creation of the real power of the masses, organized into factory, neighborhood, village committees.

The cost of the state bureaucracy, with its military budgets, its wastefulness and frauds, bears down increasingly on the bled-white national economy, and is the primary source of the inflation which is devouring the incomes of the common people. Following the incomparable example of agitation put forward by Lenin, the Fourth International unceasingly denounces the oppressive, exploitive and parasitic character of the bourgeois State. Starting out from thousands of concrete examples, we constantly oppose to it the low-cost State, the State in which the bureaucratic machine has been completely smashed and where executive functions pass over into the hands of the entire working population: THE PROLETARIAN STATE, THE STATE OF COUNCILS, THE STATE OF THE COMMUNE AND OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

Following upon the great French strikes of 1947, the Italian elections of 1948 definitively confirmed that at the present stage unity of the proletarian front can no longer be established around one of the two traditional leaderships of the working class. Stalinism’s sharp turns and cynical maneuvers have finally alienated from it a sizeable part of the working class vanguard. The strikebreaking and scab-herding of the reformist leaders renders them incapable from now on of further influencing the mass of fighting communist workers.

The two workers’ bureaucracies lay down a dividing line in the proletariat corresponding to the two blocs of international powers. Voluntarily overlooking the mass of communist workers, the reformist leaders treat those who follow the Stalinist parties as agents of a “totalitarian dictatorship.” The Stalinist leaders in their turn lump the social-democratic workers together with the fascists in the “American party” camp.

Just as tomorrow no workers’ offensive will be possible without unity of action of the workers, so a victorious defense by the proletariat against the attacks which the bourgeoisie is now launching against the workers’ purchasing power and liberties is impossible without re-establishment of unity of the proletarian front. A century ago, the Communist Manifesto

proclaimed that the communists have no interests separate from those of their class. Today the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, constitutes the only force which is calling the workers to reconstitute the unity of their class front in action.

### **The Trade Union Bureaucracy and the State**

The trade unions are the first today to be hit by those in the workers' movement who represent interests alien to the interests of the proletariat. The slogan, "A united trade union movement to oppose a united boss class," remains the touchstone of trade union tactics of the Fourth International. To divide the unions is today definitely to facilitate the maneuvers and provocations of the bosses. But it is not at all enough to conduct a consistent struggle against trade union division. Such division is in fact, in most cases, only a particular aspect of an even deeper and more dangerous phenomenon, desertion of the trade union movement. On the other hand, trade union unity has meaning for the proletariat only in the degree that it makes unity of action more attainable.

But the trade union bureaucracy wants to establish an increasingly complete control over the workers' movement and to accelerate integration of the trade union apparatus into the apparatus of the capitalist State. Finally, this same bureaucracy, whose treacherous policies are sowing demoralization and constitute the worst element in trade union desertion, is endeavoring to completely stifle democracy within the trade unions and is, in practice, depriving the boldest militants of the means for presenting their ideas to the body of trade unionists. That is why the sections of the Fourth International conduct one and the same struggle for trade union unity based on a dynamic program of demands which can widen the radius of activity of the trade unions to include great unorganized masses, for the complete independence of the trade unions from the State, and for an unceasing defense of trade union democracy.

But the trend towards the limitation and suppression of workers' liberties is now evident throughout the capitalist world. MacArthur suppresses the general strike in Japan; Schumann and Moth promulgate infamous laws in France; and the Taft-Hartley law throws the rope of class "justice" around the American trade unions. The survival of capitalist rule everywhere is becoming increasingly incompatible with the preservation of democratic liberties, even of the most elementary variety.

In this situation the Fourth International calls upon the workers to bring about broad unity of action around all democratic demands which correspond to a real need of the working population. To give these demands the most unified form and to conduct the most consistent struggle for them means today the mobilization of the masses for the socialist revolution. Especially in Germany and in other occupied countries, the struggles for withdrawal of all occupation troops, for unification of the country and against all annexations and reparations, against censorship and thinly veiled military dictatorship, for really free elections, for convocation of a Constituent Assembly, for recall, at the will of the people, of those elected; for free meeting places, printing plants, radio, etc., for all the workers' organizations — these struggles constitute landmarks along the road of the proletarian revolution, if they are conducted

in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and are tied up constantly with propaganda for international fraternization of workers and soldiers, and for the Socialist United States of Europe.

### **Workers' United Front Needed**

Finally, with the memory of fascist dictatorship still very fresh in their minds, the workers of most of the countries of Europe, follow the signs of renewal of fascist activity (Italy) or semi-fascist (France) with growing anxiety. The Fourth International constantly reminds the workers of the terrible lessons of workers' defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain at the hands of the fascists. It constantly propagandizes for setting up the United Front of all workers' organizations in order to bar the road to the De Gaulles, Mosleys, Almirantes and other candidates of big capital for the executioner's role. The formation of rank and file United Front committees must be accompanied with a constant propaganda, based upon daily events, for setting up the United Front among organizations claiming to be proletarian. Constitution of a workers' militia based on factories, trade unions and neighborhood committees must constantly be posed in opposition to the legalistic cretinism of the treacherous leaders, who slavishly repeat the errors of their predecessors by demanding of the bourgeois State that it disarm the fascist bands. But it is above all necessary to follow attentively all the spontaneous actions of the masses in the anti-fascist struggle, actions which are taking on the boldest forms, especially in Italy. Only when the revolutionary vanguard will have learned to adopt these spontaneous actions, widen them and multiply them unceasingly, will a real, fundamental integration be established between the conscious struggle and the spontaneous upsurge of the workers, and only then will it effectively win the confidence of its own class.

### **For a New Revolutionary Youth International**

After the First World War, the young communist parties of Europe issued from the cadres of the Socialist Youth following the glorious example of its great international leader, Karl Liebknecht. After the Second World War, it is again in the cadres of the Socialist Youth of several countries that the first breaks with the treacherous leaderships are taking place and the first searchings for a new revolutionary International. That the youth is the motive force of all revolutionary movements is not at all a simple empirical observation. The conditions of existence of decaying capitalism weigh most heavily on the young generations of workers, whether of hand or brain, who find themselves from birth cut off from any hope of a future. Bureaucratic sterility and the stifling atmosphere of intrigue and hypocrisy, which now rule in the old workers' organizations, likewise drive the most gifted of the youth, and the most devoted to their class, to violent revolt. It is not by accident that the Fourth International, itself deriving from an opposition which in part came from the youth, is now an organization which is composed in its great majority of young workers and students in all countries. This is, at the same time, the surest pledge for its future development.

The organizations of bourgeois youth (Catholics, semi-fascist) and those which claim to be working class (reformist and Stalinist) intensify their efforts with the aim of promoting systematic de-politicization of the young workers. The disgust inevitably provoked by the policies of capitulation and compromise of the traditional organizations also tends to operate in the same direction. That is why the Fourth International systematically instructs the exploited youth in political understanding of their miserable lot. Education of revolutionary youth cadres is the indispensable pre-condition for assuring that the emancipating struggle of the proletarian youth will be centered around class objectives.

The Fourth International completely rejects every condescending attitude towards the young workers and their problems. It neither puts on protective airs nor does it peddle professional speeches. It begins by itself applying the principle which it unceasingly proclaims: Emancipation of the working youth, like that of the proletariat in general, can only be accomplished by the young workers themselves. That is why the Fourth International fully recognizes the right of the revolutionary youth to its own class organization, whose activity is centered in the very first place on the problems of the working class youth itself: The struggle for the right to work and to education, for the right to life and leisure. The revolutionary policies of the youth and the organizations which embrace them take a place of prime importance in the struggle against militarism, imperialism and war, a struggle which is itself one of the central revolutionary tasks of our epoch.

But at the same time that it fully recognizes this right to a specific organization, policies and program for the revolutionary youth, the Fourth International appeals to the working youth to understand that its own problems make up an integral part of the general problems which are today posed before humanity. In the factory and in the barracks, in the yards and the universities, the working class youth collides with enemies which are the enemies of the collective proletariat and laboring masses: Monopoly capitalism and its increasingly totalitarian State. That is why the revolutionary organization of the youth cannot act independently of the revolutionary organization of the proletariat, but must work in close collaboration with it. That is why the new REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH INTERNATIONAL which is to be built can only be built on the granite program of the Fourth International.

### **For the Overthrow of the Stalinist Bureaucracy**

### **For the Defense of the October Conquests**

### **Against Imperialism**

Confronted by the incredible degeneration of the Soviet Union, a number of disillusioned revolutionaries identify the Stalinist dictatorship with what still remains of the October conquests and refuse to defend the latter. On the other hand, all the “fellow travelers” who, only yesterday, sang praises to the “victorious Red Army” when it was a question of “fighting the anti-fascist war to the end,” suddenly again become conscious of Stalinist barbarism at the moment when it collides with the interests of their own bourgeoisie. The militants of the Fourth International, who were the first in the labor movement to denounce all that is monstrous and reactionary in the

Stalinist regime, are the only ones who conduct a genuine struggle against Stalin within the rigid framework of defending the interests of the Russian proletariat and the world proletariat.

The war which Washington is preparing against the USSR does not at all pursue the aim of introducing political democracy or respect for the rights of man in Soviet Russia. On the contrary, in the face of the ferocious resistance which the Soviet workers and peasants would put up if American troops occupied Soviet territories, Yankee imperialism would install a regime of terror there similar to Hitler's.

The imperialist war not only would not liberate the workers from the totalitarian dictatorship, but it would prevent them from going further along the socialist road. Imperialism would all the more combine its search for capitalist profits with the wastefulness engendered by the bureaucracy. Far from thoroughly cleansing the structure of planning and eliminating the gangrene of profiteering from it, imperialism would bring the whole structure down with the hammer blows of its own exports and capital.

The violent ejection of the bureaucratic regime is today an urgent task of the Russian working class, otherwise what remains of the October conquests is in danger of being stifled under the weight of this parasitic regime. That is precisely the reason why the Russian workers cannot farm out this task to imperialism and will fiercely defend the remnants of the October conquests against imperialism without for a single moment relaxing their revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist Bonapartist clique.

By his reactionary policies in the countries occupied by the Russian army, Stalin primarily defends the privileges of the bureaucracy. Just as the bureaucracy undermines the foundations of the workers state in the USSR, so, too, its counter-revolutionary policies outside the USSR constitute a permanent threat to these same conquests. The Fourth International defends what remains of October solely by revolutionary class struggle methods. Everything which weakens the proletariat inside and outside of the USSR; everything which poisons its thinking or lowers its consciousness, is a direct blow against the revolutionary defense of the USSR. That is why to defend the conquests of October today means to struggle against the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy, against its oppression, looting and occupation of "buffer-zone" countries, against its secret treaties and deals on the backs of the people. The only form of defense of the USSR advocated by the Fourth International is the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in each country against its "own" bourgeoisie—the struggle to smash all obstacles in the path of socialist revolution, even when these consist of Russian occupation troops.

In the absence of a powerful revolutionary pole of mass mobilization, the war, the defense of the Soviet State, and the pressing needs of reconstruction have assuredly brought about an acceptance of the bureaucracy by advanced workers as the unavoidable, lesser evil. On the other hand, the partisan struggles, the military victories and contacts with the advanced countries of Europe have also undoubtedly increased the critical spirit of the Soviet workers, their hatred of the parasites responsible for all the frauds and thefts; and has tempered their will to take the direction of the state into their own hands again. The further reconstruction proceeds, the further the rate of accumulation declines as a result of bureaucratic leadership, all the sharper will be the

economic difficulties and all the more exasperating will social inequality become. In the course of constant upheavals which Soviet society will experience, the young worker generations will gain consciousness of their own interests. With the assistance of the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries, they will find the way to overthrow the bureaucracy and will open up a new revolutionary chapter in the history of Russia.

### **For the Overthrow of Capitalism**

The Fourth International does not pose for itself the task of patching up the capitalist regime or of seeking substitutes for “too radical” revolutionary solutions. Its pro-gram is that of mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of capitalism. That is why the transitional demands bear no trace of a “conformist” or “evolutionist” spirit. Leaping over the old antithesis of minimum and maximum program, these demands, on the contrary, link up each day-to-day preoccupation with the most burning problem of our epoch, the revolutionary conquest of power. Sectarian is all propaganda which limits itself to repeating this general goal of the movement like a ritualistic formula, without supplying the working class with the means of acquiring an understanding of it in the course of its own experience. All propaganda is opportunistic which introduces, even if surreptitiously, a conception of struggle by stages, “momentarily” limiting itself to immediate demands, transforming each transitional slogan into an end-in-itself, and considering the workers as too backward to have the program of communist revolution explained to them right from the start.

In the face of the frightful prostitution of communism by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the innumerable distortions and falsifications which resulted, it is necessary today to reaffirm the fundamental characteristics of the communist revolution.

### **The Program of the Communist Future**

It means the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and its destruction as a class; it means the taking over by the proletariat of the means of production and exchange. It means destruction of the bureaucratic state machine of the bourgeoisie and its replacement by the proletariat organized as the ruling class into workers councils, in which proletarian democracy rules.

Collectivization of the means of production and exchange, concentration of all credit establishments into a single State bank which is collective property; setting up a monopoly of foreign trade; establishment of a planned economy: these are not in themselves the goals of the revolution; they are merely the means of progressively raising the standard of living and of culture of the masses, of decreasing the length of the work day to the point where the immense majority of the workers will be able to administer the economy and public affairs, where the division of society into classes will disappear and where the State will wither away. That is why there must be: the establishment and development of workers control of production; active participation of the masses in elaborating, executing and verifying production plans; intervention of the human factor on an ever more decisive scale at all levels of economic life; ever greater



subordination of production norms to the needs of consumption. These are the indispensable elements in the economy following upon the overthrow of capitalism; and they constitute so many indices of the real progress of society towards socialism. That is why a drastic reduction of the body of professional functionaries, the fusion of legislative and executive functions and their exercise in rotation by a growing number of educated workers constitute the clearest indices of the definitive liquidation of counterrevolution, of stabilization of the new society and of the radical decrease in its internal contradictions.

The program of the communist revolution is that of the emancipation of all nationalities, of the positive granting of the right of self-determination to all peoples, including the right to secession. Eliminating all exploitation and all oppression of one people by another by conjointly eliminating the exploiters in each nation; giving each nation the possibility of freely developing its own cultural entity, the revolution will at the same time destroy the sources of chauvinism, will pursue nationalistic and racist mysticism down into its last refuge and will extirpate everything which could prevent realization of a genuine universal federation of the peoples of the whole world.

The communist revolution will not only release the enormous productive energy of the masses on the economic plane. It will penetrate into all spheres of society and will everywhere liberate the great creative potential pent up among the masses. Education, scientific and technical training, the artistic and literary movements, organization of public health, building cities and shaping human behavior, will for the first time be opened to millions of proletarians and peasant poor whose economic slavery now systematically cripples their countless talents. Thereby the very nature of all these activities will in their turn undergo a radical and continuous transformation. Upon finally becoming the master of its own fate, humanity will by means of critical thought and method penetrate beyond the last remaining shadows of the unknown and the spiritual growth and transformation of man's own nature will become the ultimate object of the permanent revolution. From the kingdom of necessity mankind will pass into the domain of freedom.

In a society which is running the risk of foundering into barbarism, but which is still pregnant with all these glorious possibilities, the Fourth International considers as realistic only that program which firmly sets for itself the goal of communism. To consecrate one's life today to the cause of the revolutionary emancipation of humanity is the only way to preserve human dignity amid the nightmare of the world in agony. To bewail the decline of civilization without offering the peoples a way to a better future is in reality to convert oneself into one more factor in the prevailing process of social decomposition. Only the program of communist revolution merits today sacrifices for its realization. Only this program gives the Fourth International the right to appeal today to the advanced workers of all countries to group themselves under its banner.

Twenty years ago Stalin brought the heavy hammer of his state machine down upon this program. Fanatically brutal, Stalin allied himself with the police of all countries in order to pursue, jail, and assassinate the precious revolutionary cadres who remained faithful to Leninism. A reactionary wave without parallel submerged the world. Today, after countless sacrifices and on the eve of new blows, the fighters of the Fourth International in twenty-five

countries can proudly state that they have passed the test of this dark period of history. The example of the heroes of the civil war who refused to capitulate to Stalin's police; the example of the militants of the Russian Left Opposition struggling to the last breath of their lives in solitary prison cells in Siberia, and the example of young Komsomols (Russian YCLers) dying before GPU execution squads with the cry of "Long Live Trotsky" on their lips—all this has not been in vain. Today Bolshevism lives again on five continents, its ideas are spreading and its organizations are gaining strength. For every lost martyr, ten new militants are arising. Having survived the terror of Stalin and the fury of Hitler, the Fourth International is confident of its future, for in it lives all the Marxism of our epoch, all the unconquerable emancipating will of the world proletariat. On the scale of a human life-span, its progress may seem slow. On the scale of history, its victory is already assured.

Locked in a life-and-death struggle with the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpers, the Fourth International proudly lays claim to the traditions, ideas and lessons of the October Revolution. All the crimes of Stalin will not succeed in stamping out from the hearts of workers everywhere the memory of the most titanic overthrow in the history of humanity. Confronting capitalism and its ever more hideous decay; the Fourth International raises on a world scale the central idea of the Bolshevik revolution: "All power to the workers and poor peasants." Confronting the miserable agents of the class enemy inside the labor movement, the Fourth International forges the decisive instrument of proletarian victory: the world Bolshevik party. Confronting wars, ruins, and devastation the Fourth International firmly follows its historical mission: TO PREPARE THE WORLDWIDE OCTOBER.

### **Under the Banner of the Fourth International**

Today, in these proud days of celebrating the first centennial of scientific communism, on this May Day 1948, the day of combat-rally of the workers of the world, the Fourth International, amid gathering of its best militants from all the continents in its World Congress, pauses in remembrance of all the heroes who have fallen in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. The fighters on the barricades of June, 1848, the soldiers of the Paris Commune, the workers of the First Petrograd Soviet, the victors of October and the Russian Civil War, the Spartacists of Germany and the fighters of the Hungarian, Bavarian and Cantonese Communes, the dynamiters of Asturia, and the militiamen of Barcelona, the warriors of the Vienna Schutzbund, and the Greek and French partisans, and all the countless soldiers of the colonial revolution — they will remain forever enshrined in memory as proof of the determined effort of the exploited class to tear the world out of the chaos of exploitation. The memory of all these warriors together with the already long list of its own martyrs, the Fourth International entrusts to the young generations of the world working class. To be worthy of their example means today to take one's place under the banner of the Fourth International.

The Second World Congress of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, calls upon the exploited and oppressed of all lands to unite in the struggle against all forms of

slavery, against all governments and their agents. The struggle of the workers throughout the world is today one and the same—it is the struggle for the communist revolution.

Workers of the old revolutionary citadel of Paris, unite with the unconquerable young revolutionists of Viet-Nam who are in revolt!

Miners of the Urals, unite with your fellow warriors of the United States!

Break out of your ruins, German workers, and unite with the workers of Great Britain!

Unite, workers of China, India, and all the colonies with the workers of the mother countries in a single battle against imperialist slavery!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE under the banner of the Fourth International, so that this old war cry of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO will become on the morrow the sovereign emblem of Communism triumphant!

*Second World Congress of the Fourth International, May 1, 1948.*

June 2, 1948

To the Editor  
The Windsor Star  
Windsor, Ont.

It has been brought to my attention that the May 31 issue of the Star carried the mistaken report that Harold Rowbottom, candidate in Windsor-Sandwich "represents the Socialist Labor Party, the Trotskyites which thinks the Communist Party isn't far enough to the left."

While Rowbottom may well be the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party, the SIP is not Trotskyist. The Trotskyist movement in Canada, the official section of the Fourth International which Trotsky founded just prior to his assassination at the hands of the Stalinist GPU, is the Revolutionary Workers Party.

The Revolutionary Workers Party is unfortunately not running any candidates in the coming provincial elections. In the Mid-May issue of Labor Challenge, its official organ, the RWP announced its policy of critical support of the CCF.

The RWP supports and calls upon the workers to support the CCF but does not endorse the program of this reformist movement nor the record of its candidates. The RWP is opposed to the CCF leadership's support of the preparations for World War III, their red-baiting, their failure to advance a program that presents the socialist alternative to capitalist wars and depressions. "We support the CCF because despite the inadequacies of its program, the crimes of its leadership, it represents on the broad political scene the break from capitalist politics into the realm of independent working class political action."

Ross Dowson  
National Secretary.

June 4 1948 ✓

Dear Murray;

*Damon (retired)*

*Barry Brent  
Angus ~~but the~~ (S) (US citizen)*

I suppose you must be wondering why your article did not appear in the last issue of the paper. Well it arrived here on Thursday morning which of itself would have been alright but unfortunately two items by Bill did not arrive here until Thursday morning also. I knew for sure that we would have Bill's at that time but not yours. And of course ~~XXXX~~ all together they made a big pile of copy for the last minute so I had to throw ~~XX~~ some other stuff into the printer to be set by Bob who was working Wednesday night.

It will go into the next issue of the paper which we plan to put out next week. We are skipping ~~for~~ issues this summer... Mid July and Mid- August as we need the money and Ruth needs the rest. The paper has been a terrific burden the last few issues. We just haven't any staff. Barry cannot be depended on and seems to have little sense of the value of party work... he has been no help in the sub campaign or any other party work as exams are coming on. Angus, who is aside from Ruth the most dependable, has little control over his hours of work and last issue just wasn't able to do his assignments. Bill does rewrite very well, but actually this is not the most important or most difficult part of the paper. Vern has been tied up looking after Ann and their newly arrived baby boy. I was very glad to get the very good cartoon out of Joe... he has little talent for writing. ...and doesn't show any signs at all of improving. E.C. is absolutely unreliable and the comrades just don't seem to understand what is news and what isn't. Ruth does a ~~terrific~~ terrific job but it is no cinch as it used to be for her as she is now working all day at a job she isn't fussy about and she has been compelled to work the odd night ~~XXXXXX~~ overtime lately. The ~~XXXX~~ comrades who write ~~XX~~ and those who have a willingness to write are the same persons who have to carry on the main burden of the branch life. The paper ~~(S)~~ is such a burden that it has seriously impeded the development of the branch itself. I fear that we will have to go back to a monthly for a period but I do not think we need to take the decision now but can let it ride till the fall and we see how we are fixed then. Ed and Hugh were a serious loss to the Toronto branch for even if their abilities were limited they were two of our most devoted comrades and took up ~~a very important part of the work~~. While the article is hardly what I expected I think that it is very good and very timely now that we have a few hundred completely new readers. I am looking forward to the rest of the series. It would be good if you could get them lined up so we always had them on hand. Besides if you could get them cleared away it would perhaps give you a little time to cover some of the most important Quebec developments. We need outside Toronto material very badly.

We will probably be having an editorial board meeting Monday night after the sub rally. ~~XX~~ Since the July issue will be mid-July it wont hurt to be a little late with the mid-June issue particularly as the week-end cuts into it. I am going to phone Ed to see if he can run us off on the 15th or 16th. That means that the 14th here would be the very latest.

Vinc's column has eight more to go. ~~odd~~ to see that Laura Grey is back. We intend to write them for the odd mat... they now have to send out for the mat to be made as they are on a flat bed.

Hugh and Ed were in a few weeks ago. We have set up a branch in Windsor in order to formalize the work there. That gives us four people. Hugh seems to be developing much better in contact with Detroit and more on his own. Ed likes it there very much and they tell us that Morris is very pleased with the situation now. We are having a little difficulty working with Don but it is small potatoes and no doubt will

Paddy Stator

gradually straightened out. We are going to start to open up there. Ed took back 330 copies of the paper to distribute at CCF meetings prior to the elections. I did not push them on the sub work in view of the red-baiting fracas that broke out there but Ed tells us that it is not very deep and they intend to see what they can do. Unfortunately all three of the proletarians are working on different shifts. So we have another branch which with the aid of Detroit should certainly begin to build up.

Well that's good news but there is some bad news. It looks as if we have lost Paddy. I do not yet know how badly-if only temporarily or for good. You know he never ever was built for living and working in a small group. I know that he has been ~~XX~~ dissatisfied for a while. He has no admirers he gets no applause and back slaps in the branch...~~XXX~~ and you know he can't take any criticism. Well he got onto the TIC for his union but unfortunately the Stalinists ganged up on Vern and he didn't get on this year so Paddy was there on his own. ~~XXXX~~ it was too much for him...the pressure of the CCF bureaucrats, particularly the old has-beens...the Ron Monkman's the Cotterill's, Dave Archer's. You know Paddy could never keep quiet. Well on two or three occasions he launched into attacks on the Stalinists and insisted on calling them "communists." He would never attack the right wing. Knowing Paddy I took the matter up with him in private conversations but it came up on the floor from Vern and Joe and others and on both occasions Paddy tried to pass ~~XXXXXX~~ this "communist" stuff and the odd political error he would make onto the reporters etc. Obviously tommy-rot. He got onto the PAC and when the matter of the qualifications for seating on local PAC's came up of course the Stalinists led a fight against the bureaucratic decision to permit locals to elect only CCFers onto them. Paddy, on my asking him about the whole to do and his role told me that he wasn't in the hall when that came up but I am quite sure that he was there but went down the line with the bureaucrats. ~~XXXXXX~~ A few nights later Angus and I were out with Paddy and he justified and defended the CCF leaders position from the point of view that we would reserve the right to close the door of our party. I tried to explain to him that we were trying to give the CCF a trade union base and that the issue wasn't the issue of the Stalinists but democracy..the right of the workers in the trade unions, ourselves, getting into this movement and attempting to shape its course. ALL to no avail. I had a subsequent conversation with him and must have made some impression for he spoke up at the next meeting where the issue hit the floor again. This time he made an appeal to let the Stalinists in..they can't do any harm and if they do we can kick them out." As if it was a matter of the Stalinists...they can't do any harm." When the report came out in the Star on Tuesday he phones me up before the meeting to tell me that the reporter was all wet. I didn't say anything but give him all the benefit of the doubt. He reports the whole affair at the meeting. The paper was right. It so happened we had an educational that night on the CCF and went our position of critical support means, based to some extent on that excellent speech by Cannon ~~XX~~ in the last U.S. internal bulletin. Paddy didn't say a word. That night ~~XXXX~~ Ruth and I and He were alone in a restaurant. I tried to tell him what a serious error that stupid remark about the harmless Stalinists was and how he should be more careful of what he says and take time to think and discuss these matters with us ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~...particularly since he was a responsible leader of the party. He didn't say anything. He was delegated by the branch to speak at the May Day Sunday meeting. He was mad about the assignment because he was going fishing but he took it and said he would be back in time. That Tuesday night was the last time we saw him. He didn't appear at the May Day meeting never phoned in and never came around to the branch meetings or the office. I was hoping it was just a little pout as we went through this before. Finally on the 29th of May after having made fruitless phone calls leaving my number etc I went around to his room. He was still in bed when I saw him and didn't bother to turn around for a while. Finally he told me had been feeling tough and then stated that he was all washed up, a scissorbill. He then said he was giving me the official notice. I did not want to argue with him under these circumstances and told him to be at the office Monday night for the branch executive meeting. He never turned up and we have struck Gord off to have a talk with him. I am of the opinion that we don't want to rush it and wish to give him every chance to turn back.

However the prospect doesn't look any too good. We can let it go but not for long as it has a demoralizing effect on the rest of the comrades even though everyone knows that he isn't really P.C. material.

The sub campaign is coming along fairly well here in Toronto although it looks like we will not meet our quota. We have obtained fewer but much better subs. It looks like Vancouver will be a little late but ~~XXXXX~~ will come through with a considerable number of subs.

~~Toronto~~ cut off the forums and are arranging for a series of classes for the summer months. We are having a short one on public speaking and then a series on the Marxist theory of the state ~~XXXXX~~ On the whole despite the fact that there has been no growth the branch is in very good shape. There is more participation from the various comrades in the internals. ...and we have had some very good ones. Can't get a very clear picture of the Vancouver situation but from a report that Dan Roberts sent Farrell it too seems to be improving. They held a May Day meeting and while they have not sent any information in on attendance there is a remark in the minutes that they ~~XXXXX~~ consider it a real success. They have finally ordered a shipment of literature from N.Y. and are planning a series of classes on In Defence of Marxism, and the Struggle for a Proletarian ~~XXXX~~ Party. Angus is back in P.R. and says he has a couple of good contacts that he is working on.

I have received two or three letters from Jean on several matters and have just finished answering them.

Are you going to be able to take your holiday in New York during the SWP convention over the July 5th week-end? If you can go I was thinking that I would not go. I would like to take my week off in solitude...a little rest from party life for a while. But if you are not going I suppose I should go. Either way I think it would be a very good idea to get Jean down there for the convention and Ken also if possible. Joyce and Joe are going and I understand a few other comrades are intending to go.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ I hope you liked the article on the CCF and the election s. I had hoped to be able to write it some time before we went to press so that the P.C. could present it as its official statement but was unable to. I tacked my name on it as I thought it should have an official party character. It reached a new high of "critical" support. The campaign that the CCF is conducting here is disgraceful. Not a word about socialism nationalization etc. It wants to appear to be everything to all men. Campaign is totally devoid of any class character...promises something good to everybody ~~and~~ nobody's expense. They held a mass meeting...I think about the only one where most of their city candidates spoke...the subject... the communist danger. The CCF leaders are ~~XXX~~ facing voting day with very little confidence. Temple thinks they will be doing well to hold their 8 seats. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ I told Lew Morris that I thought they would get about thirty seats and he thought I was crazy. I am convinced they are going to make considerable gains. while there is no really big interest in the campaign our sub drive work convinces me that there is a terrific disaffection with the old line parties and for the CCF. Gord just came in from a CCF meeting where their two candidates who are opposing the LPP and Grube were billed to speak...there were only about twenty persons present.

Well it is getting a little late so I will close off.

all the best





87 King St. West  
Room 5, Toronto 1, Ont.  
June 26 1948 ✓

*Murray (SWP)*

Dear Comrades;

Thank you for the very kind invitation that you have extended us to send fraternal representatives to the SWP National Convention.

I hope that this convention does not find the Canadian Party overdoing its welcome. There is a veritable army moving in on the SWP from the North. There will be at the minimum 6 comrades and a very close and longtime friend of the movement....coming from Toronto. It is quite possible that Murray will be going down from Montreal. Comrade Karsner has been informed of the Toronto force, and I believe rooms have been arranged for them in the Hotel.

I will not be attending this years convention. In view of my own poor financial status and the fact that so many Canadian comrades are attending I have decided delaying my trip until an occasion when others will be unable to attend. Murray will be attending as a member of the National Committee. If perchance he is unable to attend at the last moment I would appreciate it if you would inform Vernal Olsen of Toronto of any important "personal" matters.

Fraternally

Ross Dowson

Handwritten: (Don Windsor) (CCF) E4 1946-1983 WINDSOR

June 26 1948

Dear Don and Hugh;

Well, Ed arrived here last week with a fist full of dough and somewhat down in the mouth. It is unfortunate that things happened as they did and so soon. From his previous trips here we gathered that he was really enjoying his stay in Windsor ~~XXXX~~ and it seemed to me that he was getting over his nervousness and general self-consciousness. It is a great pity that he never pulled out of "ore's" long ago. It is going to take him a considerable time to adjust himself. He is taking it easy here. He comes down to the office about every other day and does a little work. I am suggesting that he take another job in a little town for the summer and then after getting the feeling of different work and different machines that he return to Toronto and take a job here where he can also do work for the party. At any rate even though it ended with a smash the Windsor experience was a good one.

A bit of a blow to our plans for Windsor eh! Well we still have a good nucleus and with the aid of the paper and Detroit we have big expectations for Windsor.

I have a stack of letters from Hugh and Ed here beside the typewrite but I don't intend to write an answer to the various matters raised in them. What I want to do is strongly urge you Don to come to Toronto with Hugh this coming July 1st week-end. Hugh doesn't need to leave until you get off shifts and you can both hope inot the car. Bring your bathing suit and a few other odds and ends for a soft week-end. We will have lots of time to talk things over. Half of the branch is going to the SWP convention so we will have the place to ourselves.

All the comrades are very much impressed by the stir that the Trotskyists kicked up in Windsor. It would seem that they obtained more publicity out of the SWP campaign than did the SWP itself. I wonder how we will do when we run our own candidate not long from now. You will be interested to know that we also received some publicity in Vancouver where the capitalist press charged Rod Young CCF by-election victory with being an "out and out communist of the rabid Trotsky school."

Incidentally who is Sam Lore at 1077 Partington Ave., Windsor? He sent in a letter last week asking that we remove his sub from our files. He attempts to distort our election analysis article to mean that we claim that if the CCF had come out with a Marxist line they would have swept the province. I would be very much interested to hear what Morris has to say about the ~~MAJOR~~ CCF defeat in the Windsor area. How does he account for it. The Ontario CCF News in its analysis just ignores it but attributes its other non industrial area losses to lack of time and insufficient work. Doris French CCF press writer claims that the CCF did not get the LPP vote but that it went to the Liberals. The B.C. leader claims that the LPP vote went to the Progressive Conservatives in the Vancouver by-election. From what I can see from here it is my belief that the CCF vote showed that the workers in Windsor ~~are not as far from the CCF as they are elsewhere~~ do not look at the CCF with such hope as industrial workers elsewhere. This of course does not mean that they are more to the left at all. But in all industrial areas elsewhere the CCF poll rose considerably. I

I cannot believe that the CCF machine was less efficient in Windsor than elsewhere. After all it has members on the city council and the proportion of industrial and organized workers in the Windsor area is no doubt higher than anywhere else in Ontario. Our remarks were that the CCF is badly stained in Windsor with red baiting, is aligned with the most reactionary elements in the TU's and doesn't appear ~~to~~ the crusade and thus is not the inspirational force there that it is elsewhere. Think it over and see what Morris thinks before you come. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Lore thinks that the SLP got what the Marxist party would poll in that area. This of course is sheer stupidity. We would have polled considerable more on the basis that we have a program of revolutionary action. The SLP ran a candidate in Toronto Woodbine which is about the same area as Ward 8. On a much more limited franchise and much more conservative I polled 6 time more and even Harry who was not near so well known at least two and half times more.

It would be worthwhile to have a get together with Morris before you came here for a discussion of trade union problems and anything else of importance. And then when we discussed these problems we would have the benefit of his ideas.

We are looking forward to seeing you both and give our regards to Morris. By the way Don, if you would like any of your books, pamphlets or F.I.'s bound bring them along as we have located a very good binder. Service is bad but he does a good job...and cheap.

comradely

Ross Dowson.

We have been receiving all the interesting clippings that you have been forwarding. While we have actually used only one in the paper--- Bill used the Shaw clipping on Trotsky in his condensation article on the inevitability of war failing the socialist revolution. It is good to keep sending them in as they give us a bit of a picture of Windsor doings. I have saved them all and you can go over them for the ones that you wanted returned.

1948

PC MEETINGS JULY 1/48  
Present RD, MB

Discussion on the suspension by the Toronto branch of PC member G. Stanton. Motion made of concurrence, and that Stanton be suspended from NC pending decision of National Convention. Motion that NC members be informed of the background of the case by the National Secretary.

Discussion on the PC. M. Dawson's withdrawal to Montreal and now Stanton's suspension leaves only two on PC, ~~one~~ of these having been coopted. PC is necessary for the functioning of the party but if it is to function it is required to contain at least three comrades. In view of the fact that another coopted member would not be an NC member and this would leave only one NC member on the PC, motion that NC be asked to empower the cooption of a leading party comrade from the Toronto branch to the PC.

Report on invitation from SWP to send fraternal representation to their convention in NY on July 1 week-end. National Secretary has asked RD if he can attend on behalf of Canada. Several Toronto comrades attending. SWP informed.

Motion that in view of the fact that we have decided to publish IC as a monthly during July and August, that we incur the extra expense required to publish the Manifesto of the World Congress as a leaf insert in the July issue. Report that the Quatrieme International carries a document entitled The World Situation and the Tasks of the 4th International. (general political resolution). This will probably appear in the June F.I. Recommendation that when we receive the F.I. Translation of the latter, we consider that whether it is preferable to publish it in IC rather than Manifesto appearing in Militant.

Discussion on party convention which is ~~isolate~~ by constitution to be held this fall. Motion that N.C. members be polled as to the possibility of their attendance and the possibility of the branches of which they are members being able to send delegates. The CGL Convention is taking place this Fall in Toronto. Will some of the comrades be delegates? If so, how many? Vancouver-Toronto return fare \$150.

Motion that Natl Sect enquire of RD if he has been able to draw up the Declaration of Principles.

Motion that Natl Sect be assigned the task of preparing Tasks and Perspectives of the SWP.

Motion that funds be advanced to the Literature Account to permit extensive purchases from the Indian section who fear that their stocks may fall into undesirable hands.



PC Minutes, July 21, 1948.

Present; R.D., M.D., R.B.

Convention discussion---Report from B.C. N.C. members that it is yet nearly for them to know whether any comrades would be delegates to the CCL convention in Toronto Oct. 11th. Situation does not look too good. The Vancouver branch is not likely to be in a position to raise the expenses of a delegation (train fare return for one roughly \$150.). For the Prince Rupert branch it appears to be totally out of the question. The P.C. is of the opinion that the convention hinges on the ability of the Vancouver branch to obtain delegates for the CCL gathering or the branch financing three delegates. Whether they will have CCL delegates or not should be known by Sept. 1st. If we are unable to have such representation from the Vancouver branch the P.C. recommends that we postpone the convention. If we are compelled to postpone the convention the P.C. recommends that the National Secretary be sent on a national tour calling at Vancouver and as many other points across the country as is practicable. Motion that the decision to present a document entitled Tasks and Perspectives be withdrawn. P.C. of the opinion that instead four documents be drafted for discussion by the party and that they be entitled and assigned as follows: 1. French Canada J.B. 2. Trade Union Question..Vancouver, 3. Perspectives of Canadian Capitalism and 4. The LPP and the CCF... National Office. The comrades assigned are notified that their documents must be submitted to the N.O. by September 1.

Discussion on Labor Challenge. General opinion that the twice monthly paper is too great a tax on the party. The Toronto branch is so deeply involved in the production of the paper that it constitutes a barrier to the growth of the branch. Two Toronto comrades, important contributors to the paper and one who plays a key role in its production, are leaving the country before the end of the year which will throw an increasing burden on the N.O. Financially we have only managed to keep our heads above water by skipping issues in the past year. Motion that the P.C. recommends to the N.C. that we formally revert to the publication of a monthly paper and that we publish a supplement making it a twice monthly from time to time as the occasion demands it, that when ~~when~~ the strength of the party merits it we return to a twice monthly paper. Motion that the National Secretary present a detailed financial report to the N.C. members for the period of the last six months.

Manifesto of the Second World Congress. Decision to write the South and suggest that since we are carrying it in L.C. in 2 col. 10 pt type that the Canadian party publish the Manifesto as a pamphlet for our joint use. Comrade assigned to investigate costs of publication and supply details to the South for their consideration.

Report of Vancouver branch discussion on R. Young newly elected CCF MP and our attitude towards him. Branch opposed to Nat'l Secretary's advice that we ~~do not~~ do not publically declare that he is not a Trotskyist as declared in the Stalinist and capitalist press. Report from Vancouver branch read on whether he is a centrist or right-winger. P.C. of the opinion that this question involves our whole attitude to the CCF and a possible development of a left wing, and that the question must be approached from this point of view and not Young or his political direction. Motion that a statement be drawn up on this question.

Report by M.D. on Montreal situation. Assignments made for the first issue of a French language mimeographed paper. Branch has been formally set-up. Intends to concentrate its forces in one of the CIO union where favorable situation exists and where we have already two comrades. The branch has a group of good French-Canadian contacts and will probably conduct classes this fall. Opportunities for growth very favorable.

Report of Nat'l Sec. on Party attempts to utilize Tito-Stalin rupture.



# H.C. Financial Statement from February 1 1948 to July 31, 1948

## Sustaining Fund

Feb-	March	April
Toronto 150.00	Toronto 150.00	Toronto 150.00
Vancouver 101.75	Vancouver 35.70	Vancouver -----
Prince R. 1.00	Streamstown 10.00	Prince R. 5.00
Milnes L. 20.00	Milnes L. 20.00	Milnes L. 20.00
Montreal 122.30	Windsor 40.00	Montreal 94.00
		Windsor 55.00
<u>395.05</u>	<u>255.70</u>	<u>324.00</u>
May	June	July
Toronto 150.00	Toronto 70.00	Toronto 110.00
Vancouver 40.00	Vancouver 40.00	Vancouver 48.00
Britannia 2.50	Lloydminster 5.00	Milnes L. 20.00
Magna Bay 2.00	Prince R. 7.00	
Milnes L. 20.00	Wiseon 2.50	
Montreal 25.00	Moan Lake 20.00	
Windsor 40.00	Milnes L. 20.00	
<u>279.50</u>	<u>166.50</u>	<u>178.00</u>
	<u>321.00</u>	

Average monthly sustaining fund receipts  
for the above period

292.21

Average monthly expenditures for the above period

Rent	15.00
Light	2.00
Heat	7.99
Phone	7.85
Wages (one person on pay)	87.00
Mailing paper	3.87
Printer	164.00
To Fourth International	5.00
	<u>292.71</u>

8 issues  
for publication of 8 issues  
averaged out over 6 months

Outstanding debt at July 31 approx 500.00 (451.42 owing to our printer)

Cash on hand 334.44

Toronto branch owes National Office 162.72 for advances made during Mayoralty campaign

August 2 1948 ✓

Dear Jean;

*La Verite*  
*Marie Bedard (MHC)*

This is just a short note to take up a few things that have cropped up and I want to take up at once.

On Saturday last we shipped to your house the French typewriter that originally came from Montreal. Murray said you wanted it for the publication of the paper. It should arrive there any day now.

Here is an address of a fellow who sent into the SWP for copies of speeches by Carlson and Dobbs. I think we should send him a nice letter enclosing a few back issues of our paper, a copy of our book list and telling him we also have French language books. Possibly Lake Desert is near Montreal and he could drop in on Murray. ~~THESE SONT DES ADRESSES~~ We should give him Murray's address if he ~~will~~ replies to our first letter sent through the box number. It seems logical to me that you should look after this correspondence from down there. I am enclosing a few back issues of the paper that you can send him free of charge.

his address is William A. Hammerich  
Lake Desert  
Labelle County  
Quebec

*sent Aug 21,*

I am also enclosing a long document on Yugoslavia. It is much too long for us to even attempt to run in Labor Challenge. Possibly we could do a condensation job on it and use it that way. However I am the only one here who could translate it. Ed took a stab at the last French document we worked on but I had to redo it and finish it off. I am afraid what with all the other work piling up that I have no time to translate it in my usual slow and very free style. I am doubtful if the Militant will do anything with it as it is so long. It is such an important document that I hate to leave it buried to all of us but you and Murray and Julien. Would you have time to give us a translation.. Perhaps Julien would appreciate doing such a job for the party. Also what do you think of the idea of making this document the first issue of ~~the~~ La Verite. I haven't read it but it might it seems to me cover in a general way the international situation the degeneration of the USSR etc and in this way might be round enough to make a good first issue of the paper. This later idea you could take up with Murray when he gets in. Let me know what you can do about a translation.

Will write again very shortly

avec salutations revolutionnaire

*Ross*  
Ross

Are you taking a week off. I would be pleased to have you stay at my place.

*Am sending La lutte, book list and back issues of LV in separate envelope*



August 16, 1948

The Windsor Branch  
Revolutionary Workers Party

Dear Comrades;

It is good to commence a letter with the above address. While it is true that the branch is still mostly promises this does not diminish the real significance of its setting up. For of course we know that it is only through commencing even on this small scale that there are even any promises in Windsor. ....and we have no doubts about the future and what it holds for our party in Windsor.

We are very sorry that Comrade Don was unable to come into Toronto during his holidays and that we have been unable to renew personal contact with Comrade Morris, however from several conversations with Comrade Hugh it seems to us that we are making considerable progress in the development of the branch. Perhaps for those who are on the spot this may not be so apparent.

All of the Toronto comrades and I am sure that this goes for the whole party, were impressed to see the fine job you did in publicising the SWP radio addresses. Certainly the ad in the Star was a very good move and I am sure that many Windsor workers listened in. But I am thinking more particularly about the leaflet which, inexperienced as you are in these things, you drew up and took to the Ford gates to distribute. This not only demonstrated that we have some comrades with some initiative, drive and imagination but it showed that we are seriously going about the task of breaking out of our own little circle in Windsor (and Detroit) and are going to the workers in the shops.

Since the fall and winter are coming on and it is doubtful if we will have the contact with one another that we have had, we think it advisable that certain efforts be made to regularize Windsor contact with the N.O. We are of the opinion that the branch should meet formally at least once a month to discuss specific problems confronting us in our Windsor work. Of course as our work progresses we will be compelled to meet more often. The branch should appoint a treasurer whose duties would include sending a report of the monthly meetings and collecting and forwarding monthly pledges to the National Office. We understand this was done when comrade Aldis was in Windsor. If comrade Aldis' post has not been reappointed we suggest the group should do so now.

It is necessary that the meetings be conducted in a formal manner to help the individual comrades to break away from the effects of continual contact and permit them to see their problems in a more rounded sense. In particular this will permit Comrade Morris who is many ways the most experienced politician to participate in the activities of those comrades involved in trade union work. An agenda should be drawn up and all the formalities observed that are observed in a large and very active branch. Books should be set up by the treasurer.

At its next meeting it would be advisable for the branch to discuss preparations for a short subscription drive in the Windsor area. Possibly September would be the best month as holidays would be over yet it will be warm enough for persons to stand at the door and talk.

We will not presume to take up any trade union matters knowing that you are in regular contact with such expert opinions as exist in the Detroit branch. We welcome Hugh's entry into the CCF and suggest that Morris should consider the advisability of his re-entry. In the next period there appears to be little doubt that the CCF will undergo new growth and signs point to political ferment in its ranks which should provide us with new opportunities for work.

We are enclosing a receipt for \$35 that Comrade Hugh turned over to the sustaining fund. We have also received \$50 from Comrade Don as an advance contribution towards this coming fall's financial campaign.

Comradely

Ross Lawson

August 17 1948 ✓

*Douglas (MRC)*  
Dear Murray;

*(Ken Sutherland)*  
*Ruth Benson (Sister in Toronto)*

Just a line to let you know that I received the boots *right* and to take up the next issue of the paper, etc.

Incidentally Ken did not go to pick the tobacco crop as he had planned. We held a trade union meeting on the Sunday morning which he attended and at the close of the meeting Vern raised the whole question what Ken was going to do. In short order he decided that he would not waste the tobacco crop month but get into Toronto industry right away and if possible into the packinghouse plants. He went up to the packinghouses three days in a row but I gather they figure he could not stand the ~~stiff~~ as he is so small. So he got a job at Moffat's. It is organized by the Steelworkers and hires about 4 to 6 hundred. He has a room at the junction and seems quite enthused about the party. I think he got a kick out of the street corner meeting we held that Saturday night on College and Brunswick. He tends to be a bit of a boy-scout but I think that can be looked after.

Haven't heard from B.C. yet about the monthly paper. But at any rate I think we should go ahead and go to press with the first of September issue. I am sure that they are just taking for granted that all agree. ~~XXX~~ If we publish a monthly I think it is much better if it comes out at the first of each month, then it has a date on it that is good for a month. Also if I am going west this next month it is best that the paper be run off before I go. Ruth is in New York and we will not have an editorial meeting until she comes back but I think we should have an article on the bulletin that Jean sent me a week or so ago put out by ~~XXX~~ Gagnon. Since this to my knowledge is the first rounded statement that he has made I think it would be a good idea to take up in a rounded ~~analysis~~ analysis. I have not had a chance to read it but from a casual glance it seems to me to be a serious document and well worth a lengthy analysis somewhat in the spirit of the job that we did on McKean's first statement and subsequently on his book. Have you a copy of Gagnon's

Ken has written a letter to the editor on the Quebec elections.

Be sure to let me know if ~~XXX~~ you take the above as an assignment so that if you don't we can prepare something else.

Received Wright's letter and the proof too late. We had already gone to press when they finally told us about the section of the manifesto on the youth. We had no room for it anyway unless we wanted to go over ~~to~~ to the fourth page which would have looked like hell. Got all the rest in by dropping cuts etc. So the manifesto is complete except for the dropping of the youth section. You can see that it is much longer than the previous manifesto (4 pages; this over 6) Ruth is taking up the idea about the pamphlet today in N.Y. The Pioneer mail had not been opened as Ruth is on holidays.

will write later

all the best

*Is it possible to send some money ~~Don~~ so we can take the trip - the financing of which we did not take up - we will have to put the bags on Vancouver - suppose we can leave it all there*

August 17, 1948 ✓

The Organizational Secretary  
Socialist Workers Party  
New York City

Dear Comrade;

This letter is to introduce you to Comrade Angus Sumner who will shortly introduce himself to your office applying for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The Revolutionary Workers Party requests that he be granted full membership rights in the SWP.

Comrade Sumner is an American citizen who came to Canada almost one year ago on the staff of the CIO Retail Clerks Union to participate in an organizational drive in a large Toronto store. At the time of his first contact with the RWP he was a member of the Workers Party. He had only been a member of this group a short time and had no real roots in the organization as he had been a member at large due to the nature of his work. When we first met him he expressed a general sympathy for the ideas of the Johnson-Forrest tendency in the WP although he had no contact with them. When the Johnson-Forrest group split from the WP to enter the SWP Comrade Sumner formally severed his connections with the WP and applied for membership in the RWP. He was accepted as a member of the Toronto branch on October 21, 1948. — (1948)

His membership in the RWP has been satisfactory in every way. While politically Comrade Sumner may be said to have some petty bourgeois tendencies which he is only too painfully aware of he has a firm grip of Bolshevik organizational principles and his relation to the party has been exemplary. As a trade unionist his influence on the Canadian party has been most beneficial. He has been of considerable aid in helping to proletarianize some youth elements in our party.

It is with profound regret that the RWP sees Comrade Sumner leave its ranks. However he is in Canada on a temporary visa which expires this month and is in great doubt of renewal. This visa was granted to him only as a trade union organizer and he is very desirous of going into industry. We understand that he intends to go to New York City to familiarize himself with the party there and then make himself available for colonization wherever you see fit.

While we are extremely sorry to lose Comrade Sumner we know that he is moving into a field of activity where he can be of even more value to our common cause.

with revolutionary greetings

Ross Dowson for the N.C.

August 27, 1948 ✓

*(Sup-New York)*

Dear Comrade Morris;

Enclosed you will find a leaflet that I am sure will interest you. It is a translation into Yugoslavian (Croatian) of the I.S. letter that appeared in the July 26th Militant.

One of our Toronto comrades who is a Yugoslav did the job. I am quite sure that it is a fairly accurate one. He wrote it out and I had him read it back to me. A contact of ours who can read Yugoslavian informed us that it was fairly good. We have gone through it several times and are sending you a closely corrected copy. The preamble is an appeal to a particular group of Yugoslavs. When and if you use it you will have to drop the first two lines anyway.

They say; something to this effect; You who are going back to Yugoslavia read this leaflet. Do not throw it away nor let anyone take it away from you.

The next paragraph of five lines says to read it and study it in the spirit of Lenin who said that everyone should familiarize himself with all aspects of the subject of debate. Who doesn't is a fool.

I am sure you know the quote. You could use all of it but the first two lines and of course the last four that give our address.

We are sending a copy to the IS just in case they may not have anyone who could translate it. At anyrate they will be interested to now how we used it.

In the next day or so another boat load of Cdn Yugoslavs are leaving for the old country on the Yugoslav steamer Radnick. Toronto Stalinist Yugoslavs held a banquet in their honour last Saturday night. We ran this off in a hurry and took it down for a distribution. The distribution caused considerable confusion. Over a hundred persons took the leaflet. There were of course the usual threats. Sometime after the distribution our comrades went into the hall. He reports that the banquet was a complete flop. Little groups were formed in the hall discussing the leaflet. Gloom was everywhere. The next day one of the men decided that despite the fact that he had completely pulled up his roots he was not going. Several of the emigrants were friendly. One was in the process of giving a comrade some money when he was pulled away. Their general attitude was that the Stalin-Tito rupture was really only a trifling quarrel and that the press was merely attempting to whip up a hysteria.

Unfortunately there is no Yugoslav consulate here in Toronto. ....so we have been unable to do anything at this end. We hope to do more leaflet distributions in other sections of the country where we have comrades and can contact Yugoslavs. It is possible that we will follow this up with another leaflet. In case we do we will send you a copy. We do not feel that it is practical to have it printed as it is ~~only~~ not at all certain that we will find many occasions to distribute it.

I have had a discussion with Ruth on several of the points that you took up with here. For the past two issues we have been planning

to carry a lengthy article in Labor Challenge on the CCF, in the light of the recent elections. Now no one can doubt that the CCF is the labor party. Perhaps Ruth did not tell you that the majority of the few comrades that we have outside Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are already working in the CCF. However CCF entry is another question... there are many complicating factors above all our relationship with and the general political development of our Vancouver branch.

It now seems certain that I will be taking a trip across the country this next month. There are a great many details that have to be cleaned up before I leave however I will make every attempt to get down to see you before going.

with warmest regards

Ross Dowson



September 7 1948

Dear Murray;

(Dawson, note) (Pete-2)

You can cease the translation job you have been doing on the IS letter to the Yugoslav CP. The latest issue of the Fourth International has just come in and it contains the document already translated. Did Jean tell you I suggested that Julien Major should be asked to translate it if he could. I thought it would be a good idea if we could give him some party work to do.

Pete spoke his piece at the convention but discussion was out off by the leadership and unfortunately he had to go back to work as it was a Saturday. He thinks he did a good job so I am sure he did. He says he got considerable applause but in later conversations with friends he tells me that they did not seem to get a lot out of his talk...which was actually quite simple. The difficulty probably flows from the members terrible ignorance and the fact that we were not actually in any position to offer a positive alternative to the leadership's policies. But Pete has just been expelled from the organization. Charged with Trotskyism, one of the charges is that they think but are not sure that he had something to do with the Yugoslav leaflet that we distributed. Two fellows ~~XXX~~ voted against his expulsion and two abstained if I remember correctly. I gather that Pete did a good job here also as we had an inkling that this meeting was called for that purpose. Since then some of the members have been very shocked about the expulsion and Pete is trying to do some political work on them. He is appealing to them to demand ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ his reinstatement or at least a fair trial with written charges etc. It has been a good experience for Pete but I am doubtful if we are going to get anything out of it. Pete is very backward about going after these youth for political discussions. I have been trying to get someone his own age and with a little more experience to go around with him (Allan) but to no effect.

(Hornbush)

You can send in that article on Gagon for the next issue. I suppose you received the bound volume alright. Have you read the last issue of the paper. I wrote that article on the CCF but purged it of anything that I thought was of doubt in the minds of the comrades. The conclusions it seem to me are that the CCF is the Labor Party in Canada. At the next P.C. meeting I am going to propose the changing of our demand for a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ workers and farmers government to for a CCF government in Ottawa and the provinces. This will crystallize the whole idea. What do you think? The last article we wrote almost a year ago left this question in the air and I do not believe that we can leave it there any longer.

Sorry that our plans in the wood industry fizzled. Received your check.

As you can see I am still here. We just got the paper off on Friday and I had intended to stay until we got the pamphlet off also. Ed is running it tomorrow. I hate like hell to go but I am convinced more or less that we have to do so. A few weeks ago I was over in Buffalo and had a long private talk with Sam Marcy who is Buffalo organizer N.C. alternate and a very capable guy. I told him the story of Vancouver. His first reaction was that it would be bad politics to go with the situation as it is and we having absolutely no knowledge that we will find any support there. He was of the opinion that it would be best to let it stew until we could see an alignment in the branch which we could depend upon for support when we get there. As he pointed out ~~XXXX~~ correct politics dont always win at a given moment, personalities play a colossal role. There is certainly a lot in this idea. or when we get out there the fireworks will burst out. And it seems to me that no one we actually know is lined up with us. They all seems to be united against the N.C. for different reasons. Although I have good reason to believe that the three ~~XXX~~ ex IPPers are much closer to us.



One difficulty that confronts us is the varied character of the disagreements. Generally the difficulties flow from the comrades lack of understanding of the principles of democratic centralism and the nature and need of a revolutionary combat party. However this is muddled up at the same time as it extends into trade union tactics, the fight against Stalinism etc.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We have just received a letter from Whitney He sent us a copy of a letter to Dan Roberts about a conference they are ~~holding~~ <sup>riding</sup> together. In the letter he reports that Tom and Lloyd have taken a new position on the USSR...capitalist, capitalist class etc. Reg has some phoney position. They revealed their opposition to the World Congress document at an open study class and met opposition to Whitney. Possibly Whitney will turn out to be an ally. But you know he was the one who wanted the party to go underground, supports the idea for a District Committee. I have written him a letter suggesting that we make contact and cooperate in helping the development of the branch. I am waiting for a reply. I am somewhat taken aback with their developing this position after all the discussion and in the light of all the new information as to the character of Stalinism that is coming from Poland Yugoslavia, etc. I wonder if there is anything else to it.

In many ways I think that Sam's attitude is correct politics. I might add that he was not so sure after I argued that we had to go. I would prefer to go in the spring if I thought that the difficulties could be straightened up by the branch itself but as time goes on I am beginning to believe that matters can only get worse. Unless Whitney comes across. For one thing Ruth will be gone at the middle of January and there will be no one here unless we pull someone new into the office. Previously I had always planned that two comrades should go on a barnstorming speaking tour (Paddy and I) take papers along with us and try to make new contacts, taking our time. But this now seems to be out of the question. I ~~never~~ believe that we should go but I wanted to bring these thoughts to your attention to see what you think. I am checking up on fares ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and schedules tomorrow to see just who we can see and when. I hope if we go that we can get up to Prince Rupert. We can leave as late as September 15 but I want your agreement by this week end.

Drop us a line as soon as possible to let me hear what you think.

comradely

Ross

*Have just received the bill from Underwood for the shipment of the typewriter. I will pay for it from here -*

*Now is our La Verite - would like to run it off before I go.*

September 13, 1943  
(Sent via mail)

Organizer of the Detroit Branch  
Socialist Workers Party.

Dear Comrade Howard;

I have intended to drop you this short note for sometime now. I have been guilty of postponing it however as it concerns a rather picayune matter and one which could and should be handled by the persons involved.

By now you must be fully acquainted with the personal conflict between Hugh and Don of Windsor. I must say that due no doubt to the healthy influence of the Detroit comrades it has abated somewhat but there is one point that continues to disturb Don and which in the interest of personal and political harmony I have been compelled to take a position on.

This is the matter of the Detroit comrades approaching Morris for substantial donations to aid them in their work.

For sometime now as you know Morris has been a member at large of the Canadian party. However due to the nature of his work our contact with him has been very poor and this in turn has been reflected in our financial relationship with him. Under these conditions it was only logical that you comrades should contact him on special occasions for contributions. We were unable to do this satisfactorily and the work of the Detroit branch no doubt acted as a stimulant to his give contributions.

However with the colonization of Hugh in Windsor the situation has changed considerably. Our immediate perspective is to build a branch there and to directly involve Morris in this task. In order to push the comrades into this task we have instructed them to set up a skeleton apparatus and to meet at least once a month to discuss their contacts and work. This obviously requires a complete change in our attitude towards Morris. We must now make him feel that he is a member of the Windsor branch and the Canadian party in every sense---that his financial obligations are to the Canadian party.

To continue in the old manner would not only be a personal insult to Morris but it would be tantamount to putting him in a secondary membership category and driving him away from the party. We think therefore that it would be in the best interests of our movement as a whole for the Detroit branch to desist from approaching Morris for financial aid.

At the same time we would like to express our appreciation to Detroit for the great aid it is and will continue to be in the building of the Windsor branch. It is with considerable pleasure that we have watched Hugh and Don grow under your influence. We hope that they have been helping you in every way that they are able.

Incidentally did they tell you that they received a response from the Detroit radio broadcast?

Congratulations on the terrific job you are doing in the elections

with warmest regards

Ross Dowson

November 2, 1948

To the Windsor Comrades;

Dear Comrades;

Just a line to inform you that I was unable to drop in on Windsor on the return from the cross country tour, as we had planned.

On October 31 I was stopped by the American Immigration authorities at Noyes Minn., (just a few miles south of Winnipeg) from entering the U.S. They told me that I could appeal to the court on Monday but that I would not receive word for at least three weeks. So I was compelled to take the train across the north.

As soon as the election work here is cleared away I hope that we can arrange something for Windsor. There will be a report on the tour shortly.

Just for your information since you cross the border frequently, it seems to me that they were expecting me. Going out via Windsor there was no trouble at all...the American authorities did not bother me at all. Coming back of course we were required to get out of the bus and go into the office. As soon as I gave him my name he went over the file where he found a card on me. He then asked me what my occupation was...as he had the card I said journalist. He then told me to be seated. After the rest went through he asked me a few more questions and told me that I was editor of Labor Challenge. Since I was only going through the US and he had seen my ticket, and since, he went to the file which is not the customary procedure, I can only believe that they knew I was coming.

Possibly there was an informer but it seems more probable that they had an inkling that I would be coming through from the splendid press we received for our Vancouver meeting.

The Vancouver Sun announced our meeting in their What's going on about Town. The News Herald carried a four inch press release that we sent out and a few days later reported the meeting itself in about 2 to three inches.

with revolutionary greetings



Ross Dowson



1944-57 MR  
E4  
November 3, 1948 ✓

(2, min)  
Dear Murray;

This is just a hurried note to let you know that I am back now and to catch you so that you can send us a couple of things in before we go to press.

Jean has just sent me a mimeographed leaflet winged by Dube Gagnon and coy.... You sent us another mimeographed job put out by them some little while back. I think we should have something in the coming issue of the paper. Say an open letter addressed to Dube and coy, where are you going, analyzing their last two literary efforts, demanding that they exam their position and our policy. I know that we will be unable to get a very broad distribution amongst the Dube crowd but it would be a good idea anyway for I am sure that the LPP is undergoing a real turmoil over the IWA affair, Tito, etc and many BC stalinists who will get the paper dont know anything about the French Canadian split. ~~THEY KNOW THE LPP~~. This type of approach is a good one for us to make... giving us a chance to show the LPP rank and file that there are other people in their ranks with doubts and giving us a chance to place forward our program.

We dont plan on having anything else on the LPP in this issue aside from an extensive ~~article~~ article on the IWA

The deadline is Monday November 6th, Can give you five pages Wire me if you are not sneeing it in.

There is another itme we must hear from you about...that is finances and the financial drive we are now putting on. On the whole it is coming along fine but where is Montreal. Do you accpet the quota. How about some dough on it. I was hoping that we could really go over the top with the aid of Louis Ken and Alice. Jean who is making good dough has sent in nothing. A hell of an example for an N.C. member. Since we are getting nothing regualrly from the others we should at least be able to get a lump sum at the time of a drive. Let us know at the same time as you send in the article. We need the information for Allen's campaign column.

Reg forwarded your letter on Lloyd and the IWA. I wont say anymore as I have a lot of other details to clean up and that are quite pressing. Tip was very successful..we have a headquarters now in Vancouver, possibl going to cut a little inot our finances but a thing we have to do and I know it is foing to be very good for the group out there.

Will write you a lengthy letter just as soon as I get the most pressing letters out and clear away the paper.

all the best

Ross

Jardon typing

Tom told me a few interesting little tales about leading rank, for Stalinists, their confusion  
former betrayers  
with masses  
IWA affair  
them away

## **On the anniversary of the October Revolution**

A speech by R.D., November 1948 (*dated by reference to BC Bill 39*)

For many decades the world capitalists tried to ignore the USSR. The military machines that they had led against it in 1918-1921 to destroy it in its infancy were smashed on the iron fist of Trotsky's Red Army, and the revolutionary solidarity of the world's oppressed. From then on they tried to ignore the great industrial expansion of the Soviet economy and the colossal experiments in education, collective farming, planned production and distribution.

The ideas and theories of great liberal American educationalists and scientists found their first extensive use in the land of the Soviets. While America dropped into the depths of a devastating depression, the discoveries of her scientists remained untouched. Millions of workers walked the streets. The great productive apparatus of Canadian and US industry remained idle. The forges, the looms, the lathes sat in empty factories. Farmers burnt wheat to keep warm.

Meanwhile despite bureaucratic waste and inefficiency, despite the poverty of industrial capacity and inexperience of her working class, Soviet industry pushed to new heights. In the brief span of years from 1917 the Soviet Union rose from one of the most backward and weakest of powers to emerge in 1947 as one of the strongest – second only to the power of capitalist United States.

The November 7, 1917 Revolution which we are celebrating tonight was the greatest single stride mankind has yet taken toward placing our social relations on a rational basis. When the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky were given power by the Russian workers this new revolutionary regime deliberately set out to end the blind anarchy and chaos of capitalism.

For the first time in world history an entire country had taken the road leading to the establishment of reason and order in society's production and distribution of goods. The long-debated program of revolutionary socialism as advanced by Marx and Engels was being tried out on a sixth of the earth's surface.

What made possible the terrific advance of the Russian economy? What made possible the terrific counter-offensive of the Russian people against the Hitler-led juggernaut despite the great destruction and waste of the countryside? The secret

weapon – it was the nationalization of the Russian economy under the victorious socialist revolution.

This nationalization unleashed forces the like of which mankind have never ever before dreamed of. The Russian workers took over the industries, ousted the bosses and made management responsible to the new workers' government. The nationalizations made possible the integration of the country's entire industrial system and its operation according to an efficient overall plan.

Poverty-stricken field laborers and dirt farmers moved in on the landed estates of the idle aristocracy, divided them up and staked out their own farms. And the workers, farmers and veterans set up the most democratic regime the world has ever seen – The Soviets! – organized throughout the land composed of workers and farmers elected by the people from their own ranks, who received no pay higher than a skilled worker, and subject to recall at any time.

The new government, a government of the masses, passed model legislation. It wasn't a government of lawyers, bookkeepers, ministers or do-gooders schooled in the arts of compromise, reasonableness, etc. As Charles Millard of the CCF said before the United Ministerial Association: "I frankly admit labor is not equipped to take the lead in solving world problems today."

The workers came out of the shops, women and men with toil-scarred hands, many illiterate, unschooled in the niceties of the bourgeois world, just workers and poor farmers and veterans. And while the liberals and the CCF of that day could only talk of how nice it would be to have this and that while the capitalist system was carrying thousands of the youth to death on the battlefields and condemning millions to unemployment, pauperization, they acted *(to end the war --ed)*.

Women were granted complete equality. All professions and trades were opened to them – with equal pay for equal work. Paid leave for pregnancy. Nurseries organized. Marriage and divorce laws liberalized in accordance with the most advanced thought in this field. Youth granted freedom and free education.

But today, the Soviets are no more, the country is under the iron heel of a ruthless bureaucracy that has crushed workers democracy. The great and progressive legislation has been whittled and cut to pieces. Not one of the outstanding leaders of



the November 1917 revolution remains in the Soviet government. They are either dead or their fate is unknown. The very co-leader with Lenin of the revolution, and founder of the Red Army was assassinated by an agent of the Kremlin oligarchy. The Red Army itself – once the great instrument of liberationist struggles, has been transformed into an oppressive instrument of the European peoples.

Doesn't all this mean that we must put the revolutionary seizure of power under the microscope and reject the way of October, cry the liberal and social-democratic faint-hearts? And the Bay Street and Wall Street propagandists shout Yes in their ears.

The Wall Street colossus in whose hardening arteries pumps the blood and sweat of millions of oppressed colonial slaves, takes on a benevolent light in the eyes of these weak hearts. The mailed fist of imperialism takes on a velvet sheen in their eyes at the very moment that the capitalist class launches a vicious drive to smash and hamstring the workers at home with unprecedented price gouging and anti-labor legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act and BC's Bill 39.

No! we Trotskyists cry. No – the only road, the only way out of the capitalist morass and debacles remains the road of October, the road that Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik Party led by the Russian workers in 1917.

Ten years ago those same people who are today such lions in the defence of the Canadian capitalist foreign policy were lavish in their praise of the murderous Kremlin clique. But they only began to praise the USSR as it's degeneration became more obvious, as it fell more and more under the ruthless rule of the bureaucracy. While they groveled before the accomplished fact of the Kremlin oligarchy, as they do today before the boot of capitalism, the Trotskyists were giving war against the criminals who have today brought the USSR to the brink of disaster!

The capitalist class, attempting to dress itself up in new clothes points to the real conditions in the USSR today, and proclaims these are the fruits of the revolution. They are joined by the reformists of all stripes and shades who also proclaim that Stalinism and all its crimes are the fruits of Bolshevism.

Here both forces find themselves in alliance with the Stalinists who have always proclaimed the Kremlin clique to be the heir of Bolshevism, and who, when they do admit the truth that Stalin has departed from Marxism, justify such departures as the murder of Lenin's co-workers, the destruction of Lenin's Third International, the establishment of privilege and inequality, as due to new conditions that Lenin never foresaw.

Lenin foresaw on his deathbed the dangers that were threatening the new-born workers' republic, as did Trotsky with whom he joined forces to fight it off. We Trotskyists, in the tradition and spirit of Marx and Lenin, have alone been able to explain what happened to the Russian Revolution. Only we fought against the degeneration of the great conquests of the October Revolution. We will never concede that planned economy can only lead to bureaucracy, that the Soviet organs of democratic workers' rule must be superseded by a massive parasitic bureaucratic apparatus, that equality of women, that democracy in a workers' army are all dreams and utopias.

No – we will never concede that the monstrosity that rules in the Kremlin is the only alternative to capitalist and fascist rule. It is the bureaucratic regime that poisons Soviet life and is the force of counter-revolution – the forces of the capitalist counter-revolution within Soviet society. They are not the product of the Russian soul which differs from the soul of any other section of the world proletariat only in that it is more experienced and revolutionary.

No – the bureaucracy is the product of the great backwardness of Russia and the long and tragic isolation of the October Revolution. The Revolution broke out in one of the most backward countries in the world – illiterate, with few railroads, with superstitions and low industrial capacity. The victorious Bolsheviks well understood that the very backwardness would not permit them to hold out very long without the aid of a victorious proletarian revolution in other areas of the globe.

The great backwardness of the economy, the great shortage of consumer goods, the pressure of world capitalism on the weak economy, paved the way for careerists, opportunists and bureaucrats who in their grab for what little there was, found an ally in the person of Stalin. The Left Opposition under Trotsky struggled against this undermining of the workers' state and stood on the platform of revolutionary socialism.

The bureaucracy raised the slogan of "socialism in one country" which meant in its final analysis the destruction of the Comintern from an organ of spreading the basis of the October Revolution into an organ of Stalin's foreign office and a blackmail weapon in his deals with the imperialists.

The Opposition understood as did Lenin and the old Bolsheviks that socialism can be built only as a world-wide society, by the integration of industry on a world scale and guiding its operation according to an overall plan that permits each country to dovetail its productive capacities efficiently with the rest of the earth.

In its struggle with the bureaucracy the Trotskyists were hampered by the exhaustion of the Russian workers and the destruction of their most selfless leaders in the wars of intervention. Stalin persecuted and slandered the Opposition and destroyed the International. He continued his violent persecution of the Opposition with murders at home and abroad. He paved the way for the victory of Hitler, Franco and the stabilization of capitalism following World War II.

In the Soviet Union Stalin has destroyed all the progressive legislation passed by the Bolsheviks. Only the nationalized economy remains. It was on the basis of the nationalized economy that the first great conquests of the Revolution were made and it remains upon this basis that the Russian workers can eventually get rid of Stalinism. That is why we Trotskyists remain solid for the defence of the USSR against Stalin and all his crimes, but for defence of the USSR. For only on the basis of what remains of the Russian Revolution can begin the restoration of the Bolshevik reign.

How else to explain the rise of the Kremlin clique – the destruction of the Bolshevik leaders and the Soviets and the progressive legislation passed by the Soviets? This is the only rational explanation. The hocus-pocus about the Russian soul explains nothing. That Stalin's desertion of Marxism, his destruction of many of the most fundamental gains of October was necessitated by conditions that Lenin never foresaw, is a foul lie.

The Russian Revolution despite the crimes of the bureaucracy has been vindicated by history, and the path that the Russian workers first explored on our behalf remains the only way out of capitalist wars and depression. Today the workers on the North

American continent are groping their way to find a solution to their problems. Once they find their way and make the revolution we can be confident that there will be no counter-revolution, no Stalinism to sap and undermine their achievements.

The Canadian workers and their American brothers are more numerous, more skilled in the art of production and more organized in greater numbers by the concentration of industry. They will inherit an industrial apparatus that even at its present stage of development is capable of supplying their every need and desire, and for that matter almost every need and desire of the entire world once organized on a rational basis.

The Canadian collective farms will have no difficulty demonstrating their superiority to those who still desire to farm on a small scale. The great enterprises like River Rouge, once under workers' control will gradually suck secondary industries into the socialized business system without the slightest need of compulsion.

No fear of foreign intervention will exist. Once the main obstacle is removed, capitalist ownership of the means of production, only then will a whole new world of atomic energy – science at the service of man, planning order and intelligence, reign. Once the workers of America in alliance with the oppressed of the entire world – now become conscious of their power -- become conscious that they are the real power in the globe and not Wall Street or the cynical clique in the Kremlin, then everything is possible.

*(end)*

November 17, 1948 ✓

Murray Dowson  
Montreal

*Jean-Pierre Bédard*

Dear Murray;

I am enclosing your letter to the Gagnon group along with a translation that Jean made of it last night.

We did not publish it in the last issue of the paper as it did not arrive in time to be included---and looking back now it would <sup>have</sup> probably made the issue too heavily anti-stalinist. The dead line was Monday---that is your deadline as we were already late going to press....we did not receive it until the special delivery mail of Thursday morning. *What did you think of the last issue?*

Jean arrived here on schedule and has been working here in Toronto at the IMA office gathering together material on the companies before going north. He will probably leave tonight or tomorrow. He translated the article last night. There is only one change made in it (your copy page 6) I think you will agree with it but I am not quite satisfied with it myself now on rereading it. Perhaps that section would be better rewritten in order to make it absolutely clear that we believe that it is possible and even necessary to organize mass anti-war (necessarily anti-capitalist) movements. Above all is this possible in Quebec. But Gagnon's League must not be a substitute for the party etc etc. Suite yourself.

How are we going to publish it ?? Jean now suggests it might be a good idea to publish it in Labor Challenge in French. I am opposed to such an idea as a terrible waste of space. Practically none of our readers read French. It would perhaps be a nice gesture of recognition of the French national question but to me a gesture only..... typical of those being made by the CCF and the bourgeoisie. And nothing much is going to be achieved by such a gesture. We are very hard up for space in the paper now that it is a monthly and it appears to me to be too costly a gesture. I favour our going ahead with its publication in La Verite let us say along with a translation of the article on the Russian Revolution from the last issue. It would make a good first issue.

I was going to go ahead and have the Gagnon article stencilled here but Jean wants me to send it on to You and Julien so that it will be cut on a ~~XXXX~~ typewriter with french accents on it. He also informs us that Julien would be able to use the Steel office's mimeograph along with your aid after hours. So we should be able to get it out from there. If Julien is much too busy and it is difficult to use the Steel machine send the stencils down here just as soon as you possibly can.

Return the English copy of your ~~article~~ <sup>article</sup> if the correction is ok or as corrected by yourself just as soon as you can as we could send it up to Ed. The next issue of the paper is coming up and we want it in it thistime.

What do you think of running the Russian Revolution article. I think it is one of the best articles we have ever carried in the paper. I just thought that it would be good to include it in our first issue of La Verite. That would turn it into about 10 pages I have not taken it up with Jean yet. It would be better if he translated it. I know Julien is very busy and your translation would have to be cleared through one of them n'est ce pas

What about the cover. I could swear that Joe did one for Jean but it is not ~~XXX~~ here.

November 18

Jean has read the article on the R.R. and thinks it would be a good idea to carry it in this the first issue of La Verite. He is in the process of translating it. If he does not finish it in the next few days so that I can send it on from here I will have him take it north with him and he can finish it there. I am sending his translation of the open letter ahead to you now so that you can get to work on getting it put onto stencils. Jean has dropped his idea about having it published in French in L.C. If ~~XXX~~ it is not practical to use the Steel mimeograph send the stencils back here. Have not had a chance to enquire about the cover stencil. But you can go ahead with this anyway. Run off about 20 copies more than you need for Montreal work and ship them here.

Haven't heard anymore about Vancouver situation. The IWA paper reports that they wiped out the Stalinists in the one plant that Lloyd was worried about. I will be working on the organizational report this afternoon and hope to get it out into the mails early next week. This week-end I am going to Windsor as we are having some trouble with Don and Maurice. Don wont meet with Maurice or have anything to do with him. He objects to him being a party member. A personal matter--Maurice a petty bourgeois, has just bought a large house, makes a great deal of money and doesn't give as much as Don. Possibly if we had a well rooted in the Trade unions and experienced branch we would put Maurice on the sympathizers lists but to my mind since both Don and Hugh are very inexperienced and Maurice has a considerable and intelligent knowledge of our movement and its ideas ~~we need him in the branch.~~ we need him in the branch.

Jean was quite impressed with our branch meeting here last night. We had a good turn out and welcomed two new members to the party a man and his wife who are friends of Harold Scotts. I think Jean got a good idea what we expect of him in ~~terms~~ of money to the campaign and sustaining fund. By the way how are we doing? We have about 76% turned in by Toronto so far. Windsor has made its quota and will go well over. We are making plans for this coming municipal election in Toronto. We hear that the CCF-Toronto CCL Council is running an entrie slate with the exception of a candidate for Mayor...this will be right up our alley. We should know for sure what the score is in a weeks time. If they run for mayor it would seem to me to be completely sectarian for us to run.

How was that IWA contact that Jean introduced you to.

comradely *Ross* Ross

November 25, 1948 ✓

*SWP, New York  
(Wickham?)*  
Dear Morris;

I had hoped to be able to get down to see you for a rather lengthy discussion on the many problems that confront our group however it now appears that a trip is postponed for some little while...until after the New Year at least. The plan would have been a very opportune time, however at that time we will be in the very midst of our election campaign.

We are running a candidate for Mayor of Toronto again. The situation looks even more favourable than last year. It is really a pity that we have such few forces to throw into it. The CIO Council is running candidates for the first time and the election is taking place just after a terrific CCF victory in the Toronto area. Immediately following a by-election where the CCF is challenging the Federal leader of the Conservative Party and only about 8 months prior to a Federal election. The CIO Council is not running anyone for Mayor—as a matter of fact it is quite possible that we will be the only challenger of the Tory incumbent. Despite our impoverished condition we are planning an even more extensive campaign and we hope this year to make some actual gains in party membership.

I suppose you noted from the last issue of our paper that I made a tour of the country last month. It was a fruitful trip. I arrived in Vancouver just a few days following the Stalinist break from the IWA. In some ways this tremendous development hindered us from really getting down to grips with the many petty differences that have existed between Toronto and Vancouver ever since the party was reorganized. However at the same time it permitted all the comrades to understand where the leadership of the Canadian party is. To have really done a job would have required a 6 month stay there. Unfortunately we are working with so few capable comrades that this was out of the question. The setting up of a party headquarters was a very concrete achievement.

I do not believe that I will have any difficulty in getting into the States in the future despite the little incident that developed around my attempt to pass through the States on my return to the East.

Enclosed you will find \$20 in U.S. Funds. Would you send it over for us.

Looking forward to seeing you around mid-January...and very anxious to see the U.S. election returns. There have been some fantastic reports up here of some 280 odd votes...no doubt partial returns.

comradely

Ross Dowson



67 King Street W.  
Toronto 1, Ont.  
December 20, 1948 ✓

(SNP, New York)

Dear Morris:

Thanks very much for your welcome invitation to the plenum you are holding on the 26-27

I think that the enclosed leaflet will explain to the comrades however that it is pretty well impossible for me to attend at this time. I am slated to make my first radio broadcast on the evening of the 27th and as you can well imagine I am tied up in knots in the election campaign outside of the radio broadcasts. Our forces are pitifully small in view of the great opportunities that are opened up before us through this campaign.

However we appreciate the great value of having a comrade at the plenum and have decided to send a comrade whom we are sure will gain considerable from the sessions and will be able to transmit his experiences. He is a young comrade ~~XXXX~~ who despite his youth has had considerable political experience. That makes it extremely valuable that he should go is the fact that he is from Vancouver. As you know we have had considerable difficulty working with the Vancouver comrades in the past period and I am sure that this experience with the SNP together with the work he is carrying out with the Toronto branch will go along way in aiding us to find a good working relationship with ~~Vancouver~~ comrades. He is recommended upon by several of the Vancouver comrades as the most promising member.

I will not give you his name just in case the mail is not too reliable in these days of border bans. He will have a letter of introduction.

I hope you received a few of the clippings that I forwarded to IM 116 covering our election campaign. The press is not giving us the breaks that it did last year....after all 15<sup>th</sup> thousand votes is no joke. One of the city hall reporters estimated our vote would be at least 18,000 this year. We are attempting to overcome the blackout with sound equipment and two broadcasts. How do you like the leaflet? (40,000) A considerable amount is lifted from the SNP program but you do these things so well.....

Give the plenum our greetings.

comradely

Ross Dowson

Found in 1988

IS = (Int'l Secretariat - FI)

87 King St. West  
Room 5  
Toronto 1, Ont.

Dear Morris-

(SWP, New York)

Enclosed you will find \$31.00 to be sent to the IS

I see from the Militant that Bert has been compelled to postpone his tour. When he was here last for the rubber workers convention I asked him to raise the matter of trying to fit both Toronto and Vancouver into future tour schedules if at all possible. Vancouver is not very far from Seattle and Toronto is not far from Buffalo. We of course would cover any expenses. We would not probably plan to make any meeting that could be arranged a very public one, as the border is under close scrutiny.

I wonder if you would try to fit us in on the next tour...perhaps not Comrade Dunne's unless he was prepared to work up another topic...I see he is dealing with the Witch hunt in the US

So far we have had no luck in our attempts to contact Cadn Yugoslavs. Our one source of information has been given the freeze. The Stalinist movement as a whole is very dead. We distributed the IS statement to a mass meeting in Windsor, police prevented our doing the same here in Toronto. As a shot in the dark we attempted to contact the Yugoslav legation in Ottawa but there has been no word. I suppose you received the New York Yugoslav paper that I sent you a few weeks ago. I forwarded it in the belief that you may not notice it for awhile. It seems that the Titoists are mailing it to all the names they can here in Canada.

comradely

Ross

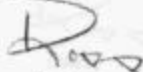
Received the 14th November Militant this morning and am suprised to see that the Russian Revolution ~~ANNIVERSARY~~ anniversary passed by almost unnoticed. I have also felt that the handling of the Yugoslav CP has tended to be of a rather sharp character. I noticed in the club minutes that there was considerable discussion on the IS statemnt on the Yugoslav developments although no inkling was given ~~ON THE VARIOUS OPINIONS~~ of the various opinions except what could be agined by going through the statement that appeared in the Fourth International which was of course at wide variance with the IS statement.

I wonder if you could without ~~EXCESSIVE~~ taking out too much time give me some idea of the significance of these developments

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comradely



Ross